

# MONTANA

*the magazine of western history*



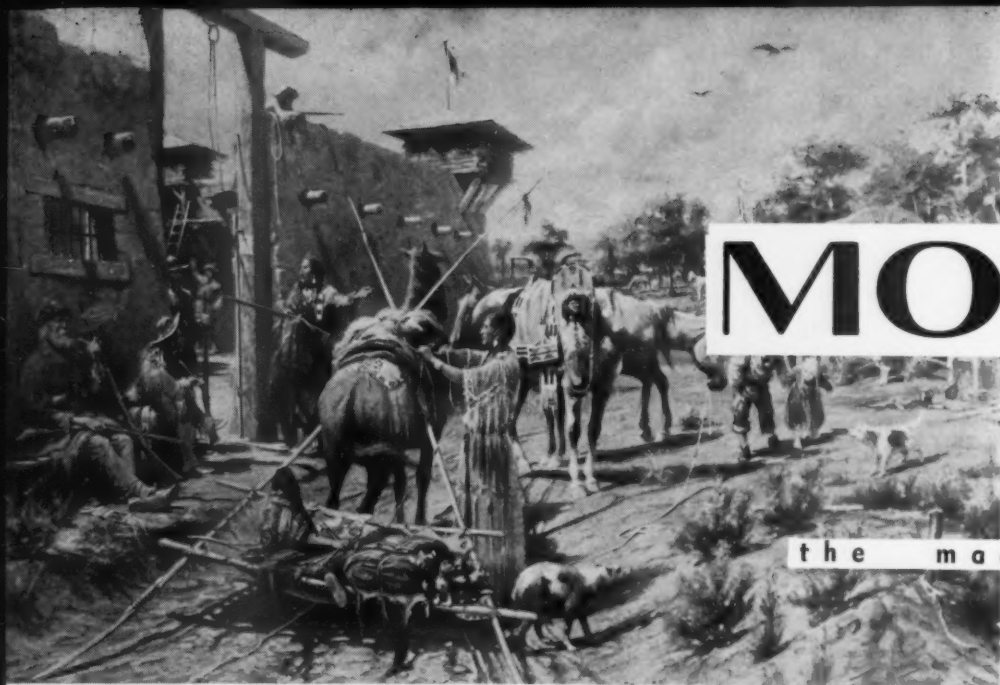
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# MONTANA

the magazine of

"The Latest Arrivals," painted by Montana frontier artist E. S. Paxson, 1904.

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of western history

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**ABOUT THE COVER.** The valiant Mountain Men whose principal interest was in harvesting the rich crop of beaver pelts during the rugged first half of the 19th Century, wrote an exciting early chapter in Montana history. Charles Russell learned much about these traders and trappers from Jake Hoover. This beautiful oil, painted in 1911, he called **Free Trappers**; although it has also been widely called **Traders' and Trappers' Return**. It has never before been reproduced in color. The country could be either the high reaches of Yellowstone or Glacier Park, so it is very appropriate for this issue. Prints are available here only.

# Glorious Glacier





From the cold silent reaches of Grinnell Glacier in the distance, and overlooking the blue depths of Grinnell Lake, Left, a pack saddle group moves down trail in Glorious Glacier National Park, opposite page.



**A**S EARLY as 1882—more than a quarter century before its creation—Professor Raphael Pumpelly caught the spirit when he wrote of the Glacier Park region:

“Among these limestone mountains—from lofty crest and in cirques—you will see the grandest scenery in the United States. . . .”

For centuries, the Blackfeet poetically called this majestic northernmost region of the mighty U. S. Rockies, “Backbone-of-the-World.” When Napi, the Blackfeet’s Old Man, created their world, he first placed all the women in the lovely, mellow Cutbank Valley and all the men in the masculine ruggedness south of the spectacular Two Medicine region. The heart-filling beauty of their surroundings, he knew, could produce nothing short of courtship and enduring romance. Napi was quite right.

The talented articulation of Glacier’s most gifted writer, James Willard Schultz, too, was stilled by the awe-inspiring beauty. He once wrote: “The view of the mountains and cliffs and canyons . . . is so grand, so stupendous and impressive, that one cannot find words to describe it all!” Schultz did not even attempt to describe the cool beauty of sixty glaciers with their delicately colored lower robes of Alpine splendor; the two hundred serene mountain lakes of unequalled beauty; a myriad of lacy, trout-filled streams; an abundance of wildlife; or the one thousand species of plants, all blooming at once in lavish perfumed display and a riot of color richer than any man-made tapestry! There were just too many superlatives to trip the pen of a spare stylist.

In the aesthetic sense, that’s glorious Glacier National Park—more than a million acres of eye-filling, soul-stirring Alpine grandeur. For little-known facets of her history, turn to the pages which follow . . .



# EARLIEST GLACIER

## A By-Passed Beaver Bonanza

By Ralph L. Beals

The area now known as Glacier National Park and its immediate surroundings was, for almost a century, one of the least known regions of the Far West. Supposed to be (as it in fact was) one of the richest beaver regions of the Rockies, it was an El Dorado from which the fur traders and trappers were barred by the persistent hostility of the Blackfeet Indians. Although some daring parties may have penetrated the region at an early date, no record survives. It is possible that none of those who attempted an entry ever returned to tell of it.

Yet, the earliest history of the Glacier Park region is primarily the history of fur trade expansion and efforts to tap this rich source of beaver—obtuse as it may seem. East, north, west, and finally, south,

the tide of western expansion swirled up to the borders of Blackfeet Indian territory but left it an island of unknown lands until mid-nineteenth century explorers visited it. French traders, the Hudson's Bay Company, the North-West Company, American Fur Company, and Rocky Mountain Fur Company, to mention only the better known and best organized efforts, all came near these "Shining Mountains." Yet throughout the major fur-trade period none entered or knew their Alp-like, pristine character.

### THE APPROACH FROM THE NORTH—CANADA

The rise and growth of the fur trade and the formation of the great companies, therefore, despite having no direct place in the history of Glacier National Park, are of much incidental significance. The events and policies of fur companies affected the explorations and efforts to penetrate the area commercially. All this is vital in understanding the region. For example, when the Hudson's Bay Company was formed in 1670, the charter gave it title to all the land drained by waters flowing into Hudson's Bay and Hudson Strait. Thus, at a pen stroke by the dissolute Charles II, in 1670 the story of the Hudson's Bay Company is first distantly linked

Under the Civil Works Administration program of 1933-34, Dr. Beals prepared a paper designed to meet the needs of contemplated museum developments at Glacier National Park. In 1935, the Field Division of Education of the National Park Service at Berkeley, California, found sufficient interest in this paper to mimeograph a limited number under the head, *History of Glacier National Park, With Particular Emphasis on the Northern Developments*. They are now very rare. We are pleased that the opportunity avails itself to present herewith a condensed version of the original papers through permission granted by the National Park Service.

Even the sturdiest of the Mountain Men left the Glacier Region to the brave Blackfeet. It remained an island through much of the fur period . . .

to the history of Glacier, for the northern streams of the Park flow into Hudson's Bay and are hence within the area granted to the company.

The desire of Pierre Radisson, the French adventurer who had turned to the English, to penetrate and explore the interior was in large measure thwarted by the initial and long-enduring policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to restrict its posts to the shoreline and wait for the Indians to bring in furs. It remained for a London gutter urchin, Henry Kelsey, who knew and perhaps was inspired by Radisson, to be the first Englishman to reach the plains, the time being 1691 and 1692. His journey was for many years in doubt, and only the later discovery and publication of his journals make it clear that he was also the first Englishman to see and shoot the buffalo and grizzly bear.

Even yet it remains obscure whether Kelsey was sent by the Company or took "French leave," but the probabilities appear to favor the first theory.

Kelsey, in his journey, was far from reaching the Glacier Park area. He did not even see the Rocky Mountains. But for over half a century he was the only known Englishman to reach as far as the plains east of the Rockies.<sup>1</sup>

The first known visitors to actually approach the region were all representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1754-5, Anthony Hendry wintered with the Blackfeet Indians, probably wandering the region of the Bow River in Alberta and passing down the Red Deer and South Forks of the Saskatchewan in the spring. From them he learned something of the Glacier region to the south. He found a French post near the Grand Forks of the



Saskatchewan. His journey brought no results, for his stories of Indians on horseback were not believed and his whole account was discredited.

In 1772 the competition from Montreal stirred the Hudson's Bay Company into activity and Mathew Cocking was sent to the Saskatchewan. Crossing the South Fork, he met some Blackfeet at the Eagle Hills and spent the winter with them, confirming Henry's account. He found French traders who had married into the tribe and adopted native life. Some of these nameless personages were probably the first whites to visit the confines of Glacier National Park, but their doings remain unknown to history. Cocking returned to the Bay in 1773. That same year the council of the Hudson's Bay Company had ordered establishments to be made on the Saskatchewan, and Cumberland House was built at Sturgeon Lake. From this time on "patroons of the woods" were engaged to live inland with the Indians. A staff of 51 men was kept regularly at Cumberland House. There is no record of how far west or south some of these men may have gone. Glacier is the loser.<sup>2</sup>

While there is ample published material on the entry of the North-West Fur Company into the region north of the Saskatchewan, their activities in the direction of the Glacier Park region can only be inferred from the movement of the Hudson's Bay Company there. Of the independents and free traders we likewise have little data. In 1780 a free trader's post is mentioned at the Eagle Hills near Battleford. A curious note from the *Manuscript Journal of a Gentleman belonging to the army of General St. Clair* remarks on meeting a Mr. M. ...., who about five years before (which would place the date as 1786) had visited the headwaters of the Missouri with a fur trading party from Montreal. The party consisted of 100 men and had come in contact with the "Great Belly, Blood, Blackfoot, Snake, Ossnobiens (Assiniboine?), Shiveytoon, Mandon, Paunee, and others." An attempt by this party to cross the "Shining Mountains" was frustrated by hostile Indians. Apparently no other rec-

ord of this trip is known. The geographical and tribal information given is far beyond what one would expect at the time. Whether this particular expedition occurred or not, it is evident that there had been an expedition (or expeditions) to the headwaters of the Missouri before Lewis and Clark came close to the Glacier Park country<sup>3</sup> by way of Maria's River.

About 1786 David Thompson, most able of all the early fur-trade explorers, was at Manchester House, 40 miles up the North Saskatchewan from Battleford, wintering with the Piegiens in the neighborhood of modern Calgary.<sup>4</sup> This marked the approach of the fur trade to the Rockies on a permanent basis. By 1790 the Hudson's Bay Company had established the South Branch House on the South Saskatchewan. Two years later Peter Fidler left the Hudson's Bay post of Fort George on the North Saskatchewan, and wandered over the Bow and Little Bow Rivers. The following year, 1793, he crossed the Red Deer at the mouth of the Rosebud, reached the Bow, and followed it to Chesterfield House at the South Saskatchewan and Red Deer Rivers. Thompson, the same year, found both a Hudson's Bay and a North-West Company post at the site of South Branch House.

But in 1794 an important event occurred. Thompson left the Hudson's Bay Company and joined the North-Westers. By winter of that year he had run a survey from Lake Superior to the Mandan villages on the Missouri. Here he found that free traders, outfitted by the Hudson's Bay Company, had been trading for several years. Insignificant bits such as this are the only hints we have that whites penetrated beyond the established fur company posts and had been in, or nearer, the Glacier region than any established record shows.

In 1800 Thompson went to the Upper Saskatchewan, spending two years wandering the country between the North and South Forks. Four men sent by him were probably the first whites to paddle down the South Fork of the Saskatchewan from near its headwaters. In 1801 Thompson passed over Howse Pass, discovered by





A Blackfoot brave guards the peaks and waters of his beloved region.

Duncan McGillivray the year before, reaching the headwaters of the Columbia. Some of these parties must have been quite close to present Glacier Park. In 1805 West Chesterfield House was built by John McDonald of Garth near the mouth of the Red Deer River. It was abandoned the following year and for 17 years there were no further efforts to penetrate the area with permanent establishments until the new Hudson's Bay Company reestablished the post in 1822, a venture continued only for a few years.

In the meantime David Thompson had been exploring in the region of the upper Columbia, evidently utilizing Howse Pass. In 1809 Joseph Howse (not Jasper Howse for whom the Pass was named) followed Thompson over the Pass, and in 1810 he took a Hudson's Bay party onto the Pacific slope. He was followed by James McMillan of the North-West Company to see that he was not successful.

The Howse and McMillan parties in 1810 are usually considered to have been in the Montana region west of the Rockies, and hence must have passed west of Glacier Park. In the handbook of general information regarding the Park, published

by the Department of the Interior, Washington, 1933, it is stated that the first white crossed Marias Pass in 1810, but no authority is given. No evidence for this exists in any of the standard sources for the region. The only parties known to have been anywhere near the area are these two parties of Howse and McMillan, and while it is conceivable that they might have crossed the pass, lacking any detailed journals of the expeditions, it is doubtful if this fact can ever be established.

This same year of 1810, Thompson was prevented from using Howse Pass by his old friends, the Piegan tribe of the Blackfoot Confederacy, who objected to Thompson's furnishing arms to the Kootenay. Thompson then discovered and crossed the

<sup>1</sup> Source of most of the preceding material is from Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, N. Y.: D. Appleton, 1908; Pinkerton, *Hudson's Bay Company*, N. Y.: Holt, 1951; Laut, *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*, 2 vols, Outing Pub. Co., 1908 & 1917; and the Henry Kelsey papers, Ottawa, Archives of Canada, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Hendry Journals, edited by L. Burpee, Canada, 1907; and Cocking Journals, Royal Society of Canada, Series 3, Vol. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, Vol. 3, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Best readily available source: the *David Thompson Journals*, edited by M. Catherine White, Montana State University Press, Missoula, also *David Thompson's Narrative*, edited by J. B. Tyrell, Toronto, 1916.



Rocky Mountain goats, symbol of Glorious Glacier, from a rare study by Aunda Ann Cole.

mountains by Athabasca Pass. This became the main route over the Rockies. But for the Blackfeet obstacle, the main routes would have been further south and closer to present Glacier Park, perhaps within its borders.

For the next few years the North-West Company was occupied in developing the rich country west of the Rockies, building posts, and sending out trapping companies which frequently reached far south of Glacier Park. They do not appear, however, to have worked back toward the Glacier region because of Blackfeet enmity, and perhaps because of the difficult nature of the country. The Hudson's Bay Company is not mentioned in this vicinity at all after 1810, until the merger was made with the North-West Company in 1821, when, as noted above, an old North-Wester re-established Chesterfield House for a short time.

In the meantime, on the west side of the mountains, things were different. Thanks to the research of James Willard Schultz, we know of the first positive visitation of Glacier by a white man. This

was the adventuresome Hugh Monroe, whose later life is deeply mingled in much legend and lore of the Park. As a green recruit of the Hudson's Bay Mountain Fort post on the North Fork of the Saskatchewan, he travelled through the east side of the Glacier National Park region in 1816 with a trapping party of Blackfeet headed for the Yellowstone area. Monroe later spent much of his colorful, rich life in the blue shadows of the Glacier Park peaks and undoubtedly was the first permanent white resident of Glacier.

In 1832 the Hudson's Bay council ordered the abandonment of Rocky Mountain "because of the defection of the Pie-gans," and also ordered the building of a post to be called Piegan House somewhere near the 49th parallel, with the object of intercepting Indians who might be going across the border to trade with Americans. This is the first reference to American competition in the Plains region. In 1833, Piegan House was established on the Bow River in what is now the Stony Indian Reserve. But after five months it was abandoned and Rocky Mountain House re-

stored. The same year the council of the Hudson's Bay Company, alarmed by the diminution of the beaver, forbade the issuance of traps to any but the Piegan Indians. In 1848 the artist Paul Kane passed through Rocky Mountain House and noted it to be of unusually strong construction because of danger from the Blackfeet.<sup>5</sup>

Nine years later, in 1857, Father La Combe paid his first visit to Blackfeet Indian territory. (In 1865 he took up permanent residence there.)

In the years 1857 and 1858 the Imperial Palliser Expedition reached Glacier Park. In 1857 Palliser went up the South Saskatchewan to within sight of Chief Mountain, the earliest mention of the peak in standard British sources [which missed Hugh Monroe's much earlier visit.] Palliser crossed the Kananaskis to the Kootenay River, and the following year crossed Kootenay or Blakiston Pass just north of Glacier Park. The expedition named Waterton Lake.

The Palliser Expedition marks the end of the period of the fur trade in this area from a Canadian viewpoint, although it lingered on for many years. The monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company was beginning to crumble. Settlers had been moving into the Red River Valley over whom the Company could exercise no control. In 1866 American traders began to pour over the border from Fort Benton, establishing trading posts in Blackfeet territory. The most famous of these, of course, were Fort Whcop-up at the junction of the Belly and the St. Mary's Rivers, Fort Stand-off on the Belly River, and Pincher Creek.

Although there were exceptions, most of these men were whiskey traders, of a very low class. Liquor flowed freely and the Indians were hopelessly debauched. Gambling and lawlessness reached a true "Wild West" pitch. Another class of raw Americans, the wolfers, who made their living by poisoning wolves, bitterly opposed the fur traders, who were encouraging the hunting of the buffalo for their

hides. This added a further disordered element to a situation which endured for some years.

#### THE SOUTHERN APPROACH—THE AMERICAN FUR TRADERS

The approach to the Glacier National Park region from the south lagged far behind that from the north. Early traders from St. Louis under Spanish control never penetrated any distance up the Missouri, although they were gaining experience nearer home which was eventually to take them, at one bound, to the headwaters of the great river.

In Canada, a government expedition marked the closing period of the Rocky Mountain fur trade era. In the United States it was a government expedition which initiated it. Lewis and Clark went into a country, which beyond the Mandan villages had never been visited by American traders. On their return in 1806, Lewis made his overland trip from the Missouri along the base of the Rockies as far as Maria's River, and named Chief Mountain. A question is raised as to whether he would have discovered Marias Pass had he not been threatened with Indian troubles. In any case this is the earliest historical mention of a natural feature connected with Glacier Park itself.

In 1811 all posts of the Missouri Fur Company above the Mandan villages were abandoned. The Astorians in this year went overland from Arikara rather than risk ascending the river through Blackfeet territory. No recorded efforts to make establishments above the Mandans are known for some years. The abortive Yellowstone Expedition of 1819 seriously injured American prestige. Yet, two years later, in 1821, another effort was made and the first Fort Benton was built at the junction of the Big Horn and Yellowstone rivers; while the Rocky Mountain Fur Company established a post the following year at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Disaster still attended all efforts to push into Blackfeet country. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company was attacked at the Great Falls of the Missouri and driven back. The Blackfeet stole so many horses from the Rocky Mountain Fur Company

<sup>5</sup> *In the Shadows of the Rockies*, MacInness; *Hudson's Bay Company*, Pinkerton.

<sup>6</sup> Principal sources for the above: Laut, Burpee, and *The Fur Trade in Canada*, by Harold A. Innes, 1929.





For many years, the Blackfeet Nation, which included the Bloods and Stoney's of Canada was policed mainly by the Canadian Mounties. The painting is "Single Handed" by C. M. Russell, owned by W. C. Findlay of Chicago. (See page 72.)

post at the mouth of the Yellowstone that it was abandoned and moved up to the Big Horn River. The following year the Missouri Fur Company found this upriver trade so unprofitable and dangerous that it withdrew all the way down river to the Omaha.<sup>7</sup>

A second and more successful Yellowstone expedition, in 1825, made a change for the better in the American fur trade. The expedition moved some distance up the Yellowstone, where it met General Ashley, moving spirit at the time in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and made treaties with all the tribes of the River except the Blackfeet, with whom it was unable to establish contracts. In 1827 Ashley projected a post at the mouth of Maria's River for Blackfeet trade, but his interest was diverted, and no attempt was made to carry out the plan.

The year 1828 saw the entry of the powerful American Fur Company on the upper river, with posts at the mouth of the Yellowstone and further up the Yellowstone. The Company was determined to open trade with the Blackfeet Nation at any cost. In 1831 an opportunity was offered. An old trapper by the name of Berger, formerly with the Hudson's Bay Company, who had lived among these Indians and spoke the language, appeared

at Fort Union. He offered to lead a party into the country and set off with three companions, returning with forty Blackfeet braves, many of whom had never before visited this far down the Missouri. So suspicious were the Blackfeet, that Berger told them the distance was less than it actually was. One day's journey from the fort, they refused to travel further. Berger courageously offered his life as forfeit if they did not reach the fort the following day.

To this old mountain man must go the credit for bold handling of a dangerous enterprise which resulted in the establishment of American relations with the wary Blackfeet Indians for the first time.

The immediate result of Berger's success was the establishment of Fort Piegan, at the mouth of the Maria's, which had a successful season except for one abortive attack. The Blackfeet wished the post kept open in the summer. When the founder, James Kipp, left it according to his instructions, the Indians burned the first fort. The same fall it was rebuilt by

<sup>7</sup>The classic fount of fur-trade information is the three volume work of Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, New York, Harper, 1902. The best pin-pointing of the Montana scene was done by Paul C. Phillips. See his *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, Denver, Old West Pub. Co., 1940; and many articles and monographs on the Montana fur trade.



D. D. Mitchell in what is now known as Brule Bottom and renamed Fort McKenzie after the energetic director of the Missouri River operations of the American Fur Company. From this time on the American Fur Company maintained almost permanent relations with the Blackfeet, and liaison in the Glacier Park region. But all was not peace. This same year Bridger and Fitzpatrick of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company had one of their many encounters with these Indians.

On the United States' side the year 1831 was epoch-making in another respect. That year, steamboat navigation began on the Upper Missouri and the first steamboat reached Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone. This was destined to revolutionize the fur trade from the South.

The American Fur Company built Fort Cass at the mouth of the Big Horn in 1832, the year of the building of Fort McKenzie and also notable for the visit of Catlin to Fort Union. The following year came Maximilian, Prince of Wied. Both men were famous chroniclers of Indian cus-

toms. In 1834 Thomas Nuttall and J. K. Townsend, English scientists, crossed the continent by way of the fur posts on the Missouri. In 1836 Larpenteur speaks of Blackfeet trading at Fort Union, and of traders being sent into the Blackfeet country, as though it were a regular thing.<sup>8</sup> Father de Smet began his famous missionary labors among the Flatheads in 1840. The usefulness of Fort McKenzie came to a close in 1842-3 when F. A. Chardon, post manager, attempted to massacre a group of Bloods in revenge for the killing of a favorite negro servant, reviving Blackfeet animosity. Fort Benton which had much indirect influence on Glacier Park, was built in 1846, slightly above the Maria's on the Missouri. It was destined to become a famous commercial center because of its situation at the head of steamboat navigation. But the day of the fur trade was about to wane, and here the earliest story of Glacier is taken over by engineer, explorer, cowboy, scientist, miner, railroad builder, and settler. They would record and report on the remarkable beauty of this area that had so long escaped recording by the Mountain Men and fur-traders.

<sup>8</sup> *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, edited by Elliott Coues, New York, Harper, 1904, 2 vols.





## THE GLACIER MOVES TORTUOUSLY

By Donald H. Robinson as edited by Harry B. Robinson

Amid the forested slopes and snow-covered peaks of the Northern Rocky Mountains lies an area of some 1,500 square miles, set aside as a representative sample of some of the most beautiful mountain scenery in the world. This area, present Glacier National Park, in north-western Montana, lies astride the Continental Divide immediately adjacent to the Canadian boundary. Fourth largest of our 29 national parks, it was set aside by Act of Congress in 1910 as a "pleasuring ground" for the American people. Hundreds of thousands of people now visit the Park each summer to enjoy the scenic

splendor and relaxation afforded by this vast area of mountains, streams and lakes. Yet it took many difficult years for the Park to be established.

The period from 1850 to 1900 might well be called the period of exploration that resulted in creation of Glacier National Park. Although a few white persons did set foot in the Park area prior to 1850, most of the early efforts were spent in establishing, consciously or otherwise, a solid line of approach to these mountains. After 1853, for the first time, organized parties actually began to enter the mountains and explore them. The railroad sur-

Grinnell, Schultz, Tinkham, Stevens, Doty, Kennedy, McDonald, Pumpelly, Logan, Stimson, Sargent, Carter, Dixon, Pray; Capt. Ames and Lts. Woodruff, Van Orsdale, Robertson, Ahearn and Beacon all helped move the ice mass that led to establishment of Glacier National Park . . .

veys, boundary survey parties, the U. S. Army, and various individuals interested in the region for one reason or another, pushed farther and farther into the primitive area, finding new routes across the rugged, photogenic mountains and new wonders and scenic splendor to record in their journals. Like the inexorable movement of a glacier, the sixty-year span of exploration, and finally creation, of Glacier Park was a slow, grinding affair.

#### **Tinkham and Stevens Explorations**

Following the peregrinations of Hugh Monroe and other fur traders and mountain men, who, at the time, did little or nothing to further public knowledge of the scenic mysteries of the glacier region, it was mid-19th century when the first two functional explorations of record took place. In 1853, A. W. Tinkham approached the region from the west side of the Continental Divide, recording and reporting what he found. In May of the following year this was done even more methodically and scientifically by James Doty. Doty was a member of the earliest railway survey party led by the venerable Governor of Washington Territory, I. I. Stevens. In working and surveying along the forty-seventh parallel, the expedition touched quite a portion of the present Park area. Doty reported physical and other features in detail, from camp to camp. But when he reached the body of water now called Lower St. Mary Lake, he referred to it as "the well-known Chief Mountain Lake," which erroneously inferred to future researchers that the name was already established. Upper St. Mary Lake he called Bow Lake. In later maps both of these names went astray. Nevertheless, the Stevens party provided the first extensive written observations of value to the region.

This is part of an unpublished book-length manuscript written while Don Robinson was employed in the park. Harry (not related) is Glacier Park Naturalist and unofficial historian.

#### **Boundary Surveys**

One of the earliest penetrations of the pre-Park area was by International Boundary Survey parties. With the settlement of the boundary disputes between the United States and Great Britain, plans were made to survey and mark the boundary dividing the two countries along the 49th parallel. In 1861, a survey party of the newly formed Northwest Boundary Commission, led by Archibald Campbell, and a corresponding British party, reached the Continental Divide and established a station there, on the northern end of what is now the Park, completing the first survey of the 49th parallel from the Pacific Ocean to the summit of the Rockies.

In March, 1872, President Grant signed a bill authorizing the remainder of the survey, between Lake of the Woods, Min-

Below: The high reaches of beautiful Piegan Valley.







Silent, brooding Chief Mountain, a prominent early landmark in the inviolate region of the Blackfeet. It caused the early explorers much grief because of a cartographer's error and at first gave Waterton Lake the incorrect name of "Chief Mountain Lake". Opposite page is St. Mary Lake.

nesota, and the summit of the Rockies, completing the boundary survey between the United States and Canada. In the year 1874, survey parties from the east reached the Continental Divide, connecting with the survey of 1861. The crew from the Poplar River, in eastern Montana, to the Continental Divide was under the leadership of Captain Ames of the Sixth Infantry. They were accompanied by Dr. Elliott Coues and George Dawson, who made botanical collections in the regions through which they passed. They camped on Waterton Lake for some time, meticulously mapping the peaks and drainages in the area. But due to an error in the cartography of the Pacific Railroad Survey, they called Waterton Lake "Chief Mountain Lake," a name which correctly belonged to Lower St. Mary Lake.

#### **Woodruff and Van Orsdale**

In the year 1873, Lt. Charles A. Woodruff and Lt. John T. Van Orsdale were ordered out of Fort Shaw, on Sun River, Montana Territory, with a small party of

troops to make a military reconnaissance to Fort Colville, in Washington Territory. On the trip west they followed closely to the Lewis and Clark Expedition route up the Missouri River. But upon their return they decided to cross the mountains farther north. They therefore followed up the Clark's Fork of the Columbia, passed near Flathead Lake, and thence up the Flathead River to the mouth of what is now Nyack Creek. There they turned north and followed Nyack Creek, presumably crossing the Continental Divide through a section of the present Park area by way of Cutbank (Pitimakin) Pass. It was while encamped on the upper Nyack Creek that they discovered the glacier later located by and named for Professor Raphael Pumpelly. Lt. Woodruff later participated in the Battle of the Big Hole, where he was wounded and promoted to Captain for his bravery. He was also one of the first men to reach Colonel Custer's command after the Little Big Horn battle of 1876. But the only battle that he



encountered on his trip through the mountains of Glacier was with the mosquitoes on his way up Nyack Creek, and in which he almost certainly came out second best

#### **John Kennedy**

The following year, 1874, John Kennedy, for whom the Creek on the eastern slopes of the Park is named, built a trading post at the junction of what is now Kennedy Creek and the St. Mary River. There he did a good business with the Blackfeet Indians for several years, after which he abandoned it and moved to the Sweetgrass Hills and later to Fort Benton. This trading post is thought to be the first trading post located in the immediate vicinity of the Park.

#### **Duncan McDonald**

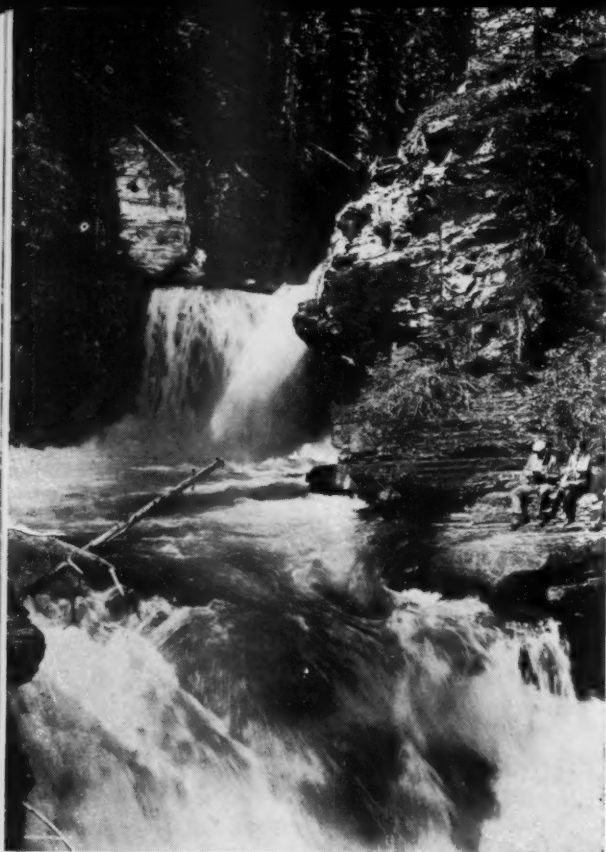
In the late Winter of 1874, Duncan McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Trading Post south of Flathead Lake, made his first trip through Marias Pass, in company with several Pend d'Oreille Indians. They traveled on snow-

shoes and chose this as the shortest route for McDonald from their camp on the Marias River to his post on the Flathead. At the summit, the Indians turned back, leaving McDonald and his Indian guide to continue alone. This trip proved that the pass could be of winter use and that it was known and probably used by the Indians for many, many years. Later McDonald was to cross Marias Pass several times. But like so many before him, he left no record of his passing and some years were yet to come before the pass was officially located and put into general use by the Great Northern Railroad, then building westward.

#### **Visits of Prof. Pumpelly**

In 1882, a prominent Eastern scientist-teacher, nature lover and outdoorsman, Professor Raphael Pumpelly, who had somehow become aware of the area, paid it a visit. He was immediately enthusiastic—so much so, in fact, that he was not satisfied with seeing the fully accessible portions. Pumpelly bravely tried to cross





the Continental Divide by way of Cut Bank Pass. He was thwarted by impassable snow conditions and forced to turn back from the wild, high country. The following year, better prepared, he assaulted it again. In his party this time was a prominent newswriter of the period, A. W. Stiles; and a Montana pioneer, Will Logan, a career man in the Indian Service, a soldier who fought with Custer at the Little Big Horn, and finally, the first Superintendent when Glacier was eventually created. This 1883 party crossed Cut Bank Pass from west to east and discovered Blackfoot Glacier, which is part of the ice-flow from majestic Blackfoot Mountain. For many years the glacier bore the name of the spirited professor. Pumpelly and Stiles both helped publicize the region. The Professor, in one of his statements, wrote: "Among these limestone mountains—from the lofty crest and in *cirques*—you will see the grandest scenery in the United States; and the best time to see it is when, from high-lying snow fields water falls are plunging 2,000 feet down almost vertical steps. A sharply cut pyramid towers 1,000 feet above the (Cut Bank)

Pass. Its four faces form the upward extension of the intersection of four amphitheater walls—two on each side of the crest—and it indicates a lowering of the crest here during the glacial period by at least 1,000 feet."

The outlying prairie borders of the region were by this time becoming known, as a few prospectors were washing for gold along the lower reaches of Swift Current and Kennedy Creeks and on the St. Mary River.

#### George Bird Grinnell

The year 1885 started a steady stream of explorers, hunters, miners and others into the mountains of Glacier. George Bird Grinnell, popularly known as the father of the movement to establish Glacier National Park, first came into the area in 1885. Fired by articles written by James Willard Schultz for *Forest and Stream*, a popular outdoor magazine of which he was editor, Grinnell made his first trip to the area. He was met by Schultz at Helena, from whence they traveled by stage, and later by wagon, north into St. Mary Valley. There they hunted and explored for some time. Grinnell became captivated by the region.

George Bird Grinnell returned in 1887, this time traveling up the Swiftcurrent Valley to what is now known as Swiftcurrent Lake. While camped in this valley he discovered and explored the glacier that now bears his name, accompanied by Lieutenant Beacon and Schultz. There is some difference of opinion regarding the person that named the glacier after Grinnell, both Schultz and Beacon claiming the honors, but Beacon's diary and correspondence between him and Grinnell seems to throw the honors to Beacon.

Grinnell returned annually to the area for many years, and recorded the abundance of game animals to be found there. Many of the names of features on the eastern slopes of the Park were given as a result of some incident or person involved in a big game hunt in the vicinity. Being deeply interested in the Plains Indians, Grinnell later became an authority on

them. He was adopted into the Blackfeet tribe and given the Indian name for "Fisher Cap." Later he was appointed, with several others, on the Commission to negotiate for the purchase from the Blackfeet of a strip of land along the eastern slope of the mountains. This man's study of the area and his writings and pleas to Congress were the deciding factor in the latter's decision to set this area aside as a National Park. This great man, on that inspired trip in 1885, saw the possibilities of the area and for 25 years had the courage to go after it, over-riding Indian troubles, objections and even the arguments of Congressional committees. To George Bird Grinnell the people of Montana and the entire nation owe a debt of deep gratitude. More will be said of him later.

### Two Other Military Expeditions

Following Grinnell's first trip into the area in the Summer of 1886, Lieutenant S. R. Robertson made a reconnaissance trip from Fort Assiniboine, on the Milk River, to the St. Mary River, traveling as far as the head of Lower St. Mary Lake. On this trip, he mapped the area along the eastern face of the mountains, showing many of the peaks and rivers with the names that they carry to this day.

Again, in 1890, another army detachment, under Lieutenant George P. Ahern, then stationed at Fort Shaw, was ordered to explore the mountains along the Canadian border. The party consisted of Ahern, a detachment of negro soldiers from the 25th Infantry, Professor G. E. Culver of the University of Wisconsin, two experienced mountaineers (packer and guide respectively), two prospectors, two Indian guides, and the pack train. The party left Fort Shaw on August 5, crossed the prairies, and finally reached the foot of the mountains near Cut Bank Creek. From there they went north to the International Boundary, thence up the Belly River toward the pass that later was named for Lieutenant Ahern.

Upon reaching this pass, the entire party worked for two days making a trail from the foot of the talus slope to the summit, completing the first of two known success-

ful trips with pack stock over present Ahern Pass. (The second trip was by R. H. Sargent of the U. S. Geological Survey, in 1913.) Because the western slope of the pass was heavily timbered, they had difficulty cutting their way through; nor was this helped by the fact that most of the hard trip was accomplished in pouring rain.

Upon reaching McDonald Creek the Ahern party turned up the creek for some distance, then crossed over into Camas Creek Valley, probably in the vicinity of the present Heaven's Peak Lookout Trail. From there they traveled down Camas Creek (which he calls "Mud Creek" on his map) to the valley of the North Fork of the Flathead River, where they swung back toward Lake McDonald, presumably about the route of the present North Fork Truck Trail, and proceeded down the Flathead River to the Flathead Valley.

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Mr. and Mrs. George Bird Grinnell on the Glacier which bears his name.







A rare, early picture of a tourist party with guide, traversing one of the famed Glacier Park glaciers.

On this journey, side trips were made up Cut Bank Creek to the summit; up Swiftcurrent Valley or St. Mary Valley (the records are not clear on this), to the summit; and over the divide from McDonald Creek into the headwaters of the Waterton Valley. The complaints of some present-day "dude" parties about bad trail conditions seem silly in the face of the difficulties faced by these men who had to cut a route through a virgin forest and in many instances built trail to get their stock through. To fully appreciate this, one would have to attempt taking loaded pack stock cross-country from Ahern Pass to Camas Creek today—a feat that modern packers would term practically impossible!

#### Henry L. Stimson

Henry L. Stimson, who was later to become a U. S. Secretary of War and one of the nation's important public figures, as a young man made several trips into what is now Glacier National Park on hunting and exploring expeditions. In 1891 he was a member of the party that discovered the mountain that was later to bear his name.

In 1892, he and Dr. Walter B. James of New York, accompanied by an Indian guide named "Indian Billy," ascended the

precipitous east face of Chief Mountain. Upon reaching the summit they found the remains of an old bison skull, practically all decayed except for the frontal bone and the horn stubs, well anchored on the highest point and protected from the wind by rocks.

The Flathead Indians tell the story of one of their braves who went across the mountains taking a sacred bison skull for a pillow. When it came time to take his "warrior's sleep" and make himself ready for his "medicine vision," he climbed to the top of a large mountain overlooking the plains and stayed for days, fasting and praying until he had received the vision that was to govern his later life. Then he returned, leaving the skull on the mountain top. Perhaps this story is the explanation for the skull found by Stimson on Chief Mountain.

#### The Railroads Approach

In 1885, to the north, the syndicate building the Canadian Pacific Railroad had reached Calgary and was pushing westward. This had no immediate, direct effect on the Glacier region. But by 1893 the Great Northern (then the Montana Central) was approaching the Rocky Mountains of Glacier—and a real impasse. Jim Hill found respite from the dilemma for the next five years by building a line south to the more prosperous and populous region of the State. By 1889, Jim Hill's Montana Central tracks had moved into the rich mining districts of Helena and Butte. Now he finally had to face the problem of crossing the great Rocky Mountains and connecting with the rails building from the West Coast, in order to achieve the status of a transcontinental line, the Great Northern. Because of the urgency, Hill's Chief Engineer for the Montana Division, E. H. Beckler (he had just been promoted to Chief of the vast area from the Puget Sound to Havre, Montana), wired an able, younger engineer, John F. Stevens, to leave what he was doing on the Spokane (Washington) Division and hurry to Helena. Beckler informed Stevens that they had to find a useable pass over the mountains. The known, but not clearly located pass, called



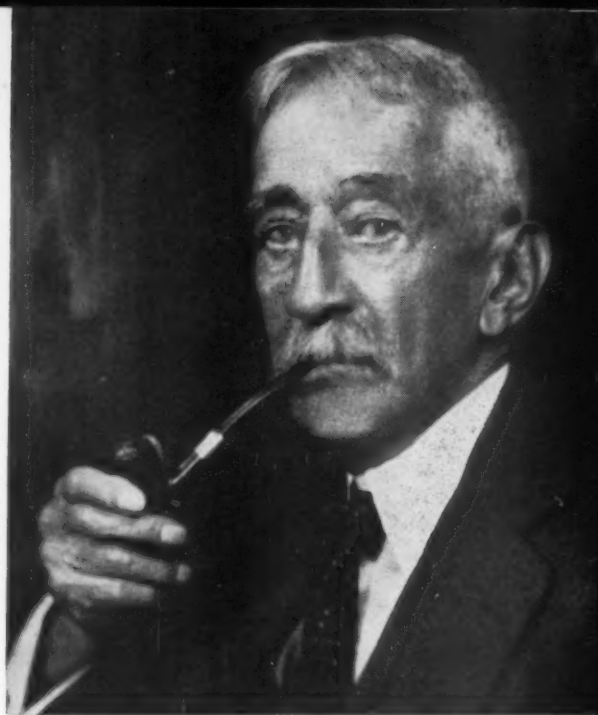
Marias, seemed to be ideal because it was almost directly west from Havre, Beckler told Stevens. And so, in the dead of winter (December 11, 1899) Stevens with great hardship located the pass that brought the first railroad to Glacier. Stevens later said:

"I made only a verbal report to Mr. Beckler as I rem[em]ber it, and none whatever to Mr. Hill or to anyone else. As soon as the weather permitted early next spring, engineering parties were put in the field and the pass and approaches to it were fully developed, and the outcome was even more favorable than I had reported. The net advantage which the Great Northern Ry. obtained by the discovery and adoption of the true Marias Pass, were: The saving of more than one hundred miles of distance, much less curvature, and an infinitely better grade line, together with the lowest railway pass in the United States north of New Mexico [5,216 feet]. In other words, these advantages put the Great Northern Ry. on the map—as being the most economical, from an operating standpoint, of any of the transcontinental Ry. lines."

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Contrary to the general belief that George Bird Grinnell first conceived the idea of Glacier as a national park, we have the record in the *Fort Benton River Press* in 1883, of a letter from Lieutenant John T. Van Orsdale in which he makes the following statement: "I sincerely hope that publicity now being given to that portion of Montana will result in drawing attention to the scenery which surpasses anything in Montana or adjacent territories. A great benefit would result to Montana if this section could be set aside as a national park . . ." In this letter he was referring to the area that is now included in the Park and through which he and Lieutenant Charles A. Woodruff traveled some 10 years before.

To George Bird Grinnell after his preliminary visits in 1885 and 1887, and thereafter almost yearly as long as he was able, goes the vital credit, and justly so, for



The editor and scholar, George Bird Grinnell, a great man who matched the mighty mountains in the two great parks he helped create.

swinging public opinion in favor of making this area into a national park and for promoting the legislation that made it possible.

During his early visits to the St. Mary and Swiftcurrent Valleys, he began to formulate his very positive personal ideas of what should become of the area. While on one of his trips into the upper reaches of the St. Mary Valley in 1891 he made the entry in his notebook to the effect that this area should become a national park. But of much greater moment, he immediately set himself to doing something about it.

Grinnell's most effective nation-wide attempt, perhaps, was through an article in the *Century Magazine* of September, 1901, entitled, "The Crown of the Continent." He described in glowing terms not only the beauties of the area but the practical considerations of conserving water, timber, wild life and other natural resources. Grinnell suggested a movement be started to set aside the area "around St. Mary Lake" as a national park. It received wide popular response and it establishes Grinnell as a man of real vision, for he wrote:



Soft, shimmering Two Medicine Lake, one of the favorite haunts of James Willard Schultz during his life as an Indian in Glacier Park.

"The . . . region has a real value to this country, and this consists in its being a reservoir for the storage of the great amount of moisture precipitated here. For eight or nine months of the year this moisture takes the form of snow, and supplies the annual waste caused by the melting of the glaciers. Without these glaciers and the far-reaching fields of snow which lie on many of the mountains, the lakes and the rivers would soon go dry. Persons who have given intelligent study to the problems of forestry and the needs of the arid West appreciate the importance of protecting the sources of rivers flowing from the Rocky Mountains over the plains east and west, and it is obvious that the greater the number of settlers who establish themselves on these dry plains the more water will be used and so the more needed. The question of water supply is the most important that to-day confronts the States which border the Rocky Mountains. Already many of these States are feeling in the lessened volume of their streams the evil effect of the wasteful destruction of their forests. Great rivers like the Platte, the Arkansas, and the Rio Grande receive

in a short time the quickly melting snows which lie on the naked sides of the mountains in which they rise, and when this flood is over, they fall at once to their summer level. Besides this they are tapped all along their courses by flumes and ditches which carry off the water and spread it over the ground. The result is that even these large rivers dwindle in mid-summer and autumn to mere trickles of water, or become wholly dry. Their waters have been used up. Happily, in 1897, by the official initiative of the United States Forest Commission, of which Prof. Charles S. Sargent was chairman, a large section of this mountain country was made into a forest reserve, including Upper St. Mary Lake. Under faithful and intelligent supervision, the dangers above spoken of will in large part be obviated, and in due time Montana will rejoice, as California is now doing, that so large a source of her water supply has thus been preserved for her people."

These paragraphs set forth what is now a commonplace truth; but at the time such broad views on the conservation of water supply, forests, and game were unusual.

### The Exploiters Move In

Ten years had elapsed between George Bird Grinnell's first concept of a Glacier National Park and publication of the article above; and, in the meantime, various changes had taken place. In 1892 and 1893 indications of copper were found in the foothills, but as the country was an Indian reservation all prospecting was illegal. Since it was forbidden ground, people in the neighborhood imagined that great wealth must be hidden in the mountains, and strong pressure was brought to bear on Congress to purchase the mountain and foothill territory from the Blackfeet and throw the region open to settlement.

The result of the agitation to open this Indian country to prospectors was the passage of an Act authorizing the purchase of the land, and in 1895 the Secretary of the Interior appointed Mr. Grinnell (who was named at the request of the Blackfeet themselves) and W. C. Pollock and W. M. Clements to treat with the Blackfeet. These negotiations resulted in the purchase of the mountain area of their

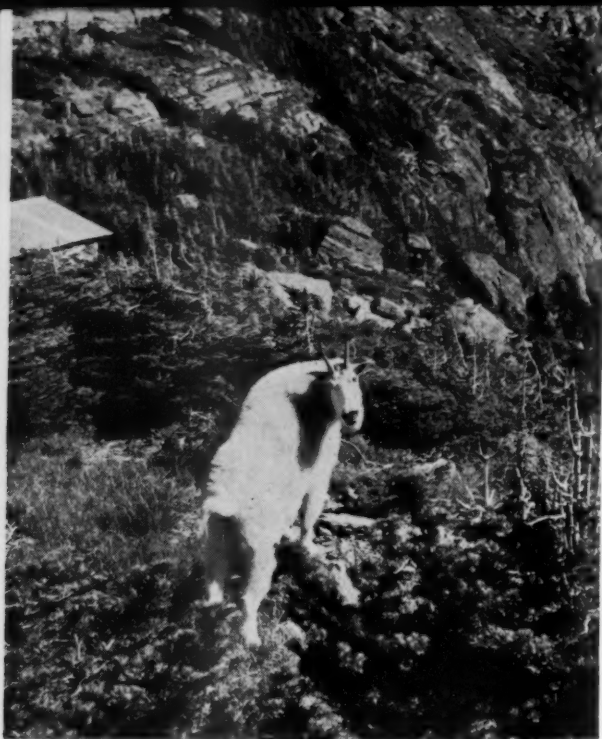
reserve. The action of the commission was confirmed by Congress in June, 1896. The land was thrown open in April, 1898. Between these dates many parties of prospectors secretly entered the forbidden territory, only to be discovered, arrested, escorted to the border, and released by the Indian police. Once set free they usually returned by some other route. The throwing open of the land was followed by a great incursion of miners and by a general prospecting of both sides of the mountains. Beautiful samples of copper were found, brought out and exhibited, and on some veins much work was done. The prospect holes and shafts may still be seen on many hillsides.

Experts from important mining camps were brought to the newly opened territory and looked it over, but all shook their heads and, fortunately, none seemed to agree with the local optimists, who declared that this was to be a "bigger camp than Old Butte." After two or three years of unsuccessful prospecting for gold, silver, copper, and finally for oil, the miners

Strong light and shadow predominate in the flower-studded slopes of primitive Morning Eagle Valley.







Left: An alert Glacier goat looks warily back from the rugged terrain near Gunsite Pass shelter hut. Opp. page: early photo of huckleberry-seekers in the high country above Lake McDonald.

who were working in this region became discouraged and practically all the claims were soon abandoned.

By 1902 almost the last discouraged prospectors had withdrawn from the region, leaving behind them no marks of their presence more permanent than the prospect holes or shafts which they had dug at the cost of so much labor. They had cut down much timber for their mining operations, and in different localities adjacent to the claims rough log cabins, most of them roofless through weather and decay, still mark the points where hopes once high had grown fainter and fainter and at last had been abandoned. The time came when the only claim still occupied was a well, sunk for petroleum, whose high derrick until recently was a landmark in the valley of Swiftcurrent River. Tales are told of the struggles of those interested in this oil well to make it appear a valuable prospect, and tradition tells of casks of crude petroleum secretly brought into the country and fed into the well to buoy up the hopes of those who had invested in it.

Through these years, George Bird Grinnell had become a recognized authority on the Plains Indians and more particularly on the Blackfeet. He devoted much

time and effort to looking after their interests at Washington, and was instrumental in improving their condition and upholding their rights. As a result he was accepted as a member of the Blackfeet tribe, and named Pinut-u-ye-is-tsim-o-kan, the Fisher Cap.

Grinnell took other action, too. He was instrumental in getting the noted writer, Emerson Hough, to come to the region and write a series of articles for *Forest and Stream* concerning it. Hough made two trips to the Glacier area in 1902, one in February and one in August, both times guided into the back country by the remarkable James Willard Schultz, who was also sending articles to Grinnell, which were doing much good.

These articles created considerable national interest in the area. Most regional, and some national, newspapers now began to publicize it.

During the period of mining excitement, Grinnell regularly visited the region, where he was welcomed because his visits were known to be for the purpose of scientific exploration, not for location of mineral deposits. He climbed and named many of

Below: A survey party studying the dwindling confines of Grinnell Glacier. Right: G. B. Grinnell during his later years in the West.





the mountains; among them, Mount Jackson, Blackfoot Mountain, and Mount Gould, and made the first sketch map of the region.

### **The Time Was Right**

When the mining excitement died down, Grinnell recognized that the time was finally propitious to advance his plan, then 10 years old, for a national park. He approached Senator T. H. Carter of Montana, suggesting its creation; also he took the matter up with some of his friends in Montana, inducing them to write independently to the Senator. Finally, through pressure exerted by Grinnell and others, the necessary legislation was drawn up and the Congressional mill started to grind.

The actual start of legislative action to form Glacier National Park took place on December 11, 1907, when United States Senator T. H. Carter of Montana introduced a bill into the Senate to set the area aside as a national park; but upon being considered by the Senate it was found to contain several undesirable clauses and was sent back to Carter for rewriting.

Senator Carter immediately revised the bill as suggested. He again presented it to the Senate on February 24, 1908. The Committee on Public Lands approved the bill, with amendments, and it was sent to the floor of the Senate where it was approved and passed. On May 16, it went to the House of Representatives, where Congressman Charles N. Pray, Montana's



only member of the House, took it under his wing and guided it through the Committee on Public Lands, of which he was a member. This committee reported it back to the House with the recommendation that it be passed as amended by the Senate, but, unfortunately, no action was taken and the bill died.

On June 26, 1909, Carter introduced the bill to the U. S. Senate for the third time. This time it lay in the Public Lands Committee until January 25, 1910. It was finally reported out through the efforts of Senator Joe Dixon of Montana, brought up on the floor of the Senate and agreed to on February 9. From there it again went to the House of Representatives, where it was finally agreed to, with further amendments. Congressman Pray, along with several other members, fought strongly to get the bill through the House, with Pray taking the lead.

### **Final Legislation**

The Senate then objected to the amendments written in by the House, and a Conference Committee was appointed to iron out the differences. The committee reached a compromise and the bill was again presented to the House and agreed to without record vote. On the same day it was presented to the Senate, which also agreed to it. From there, the bill went to President Taft, who affixed his signature to it on May 11, 1910, bringing Glacier National Park into existence.





One of the great events in the history of Glacier National Park was the dedication of spectacular Going-to-the-Sun highway, which crosses some of the most scenic mountain country in the U. S. This was the dedication scene of July 15, 1933.

Ten days after the approval of the bill, on May 21, 1910, the first appropriation for the Park was presented to the Senate, and as a part of the Sundry Civil Appropriations Act for the fiscal year 1911 was approved on June 25. This Act carried an item: "For improvement of Glacier National Park, Montana, for construction of trails and roads, \$15,000." Glacier National Park was now on its own.

It is interesting, in retrospect, to note the opposition to the bill to establish the Park. Grazing and lumber interests (the ones that would seem most likely to object) showed little interest in it. Mining activity had died out almost completely, so there was little objection there. But certain local groups, mainly from west of the mountains, cried out loud and long that it was a scheme of the Great Northern Railroad to prevent other roads from entering the region. Their contention was that no other railroads could use the passes to the north of them, not realizing,

of course, that there were no passes to the north that were suitable for a railroad to use, nor any possibility of another railway. The truth of the matter was that the Great Northern was backing the bill principally at the request of Senator Carter and Congressman Pray. Opposition also came from certain legislators who contended that it was not the function of the government to dabble in recreation.

After passage seemed certain, opposition interests began to back-track and alibi their reasons for opposing it. This excerpt from an editorial in the *Kalispell Daily Inter-lake* is typical: "The establishment of the Park is not a calamity. The original opposition was due mainly to personal interests, such as loss of hunting grounds, locking up of the area, no settling on the North Fork, etc. There was much 'to do' about it until the bill was changed to suit the people. One principal fear was of military control." (This must have stemmed from Yellowstone Park.)

Regarding the final passage of this bill in the House of Representatives, Congressman Pray is reported to have made the statement that one of the biggest helps he had in getting the bill through was the weather. It was so extremely hot that day that many of the opposition Congressmen were not present. Pray, who was instrumental in guiding it through the House, was able to muster enough supporters to pass it on the floor, or at least to bring the remainder around to his way of thinking.

The 11th Assembly of the Montana Legislature passed a resolution favoring the establishment of Glacier National Park, on March 10, 1909, but there is no record that this resolution was ever presented to, or placed in the records of, either House of Congress of the United States.

Finally, an Act of February 11, 1911, passed the 12th Assembly of the Legislature of the State of Montana. It ceded exclusive jurisdiction over Glacier National Park to the United States, reserving to Montana only the right of taxation and the right to serve criminal process for acts committed outside the boundaries of the Park. A few days later Senator Carter introduced a bill into the Senate of the United States to accept the cession of the Park, but the bill was not reported out of committee and died there. It was not until 1914, by an Act approved August 22, that the Congress accepted and held exclusive jurisdiction over the Park, as specified by the State of Montana. The Glacier had run its course.

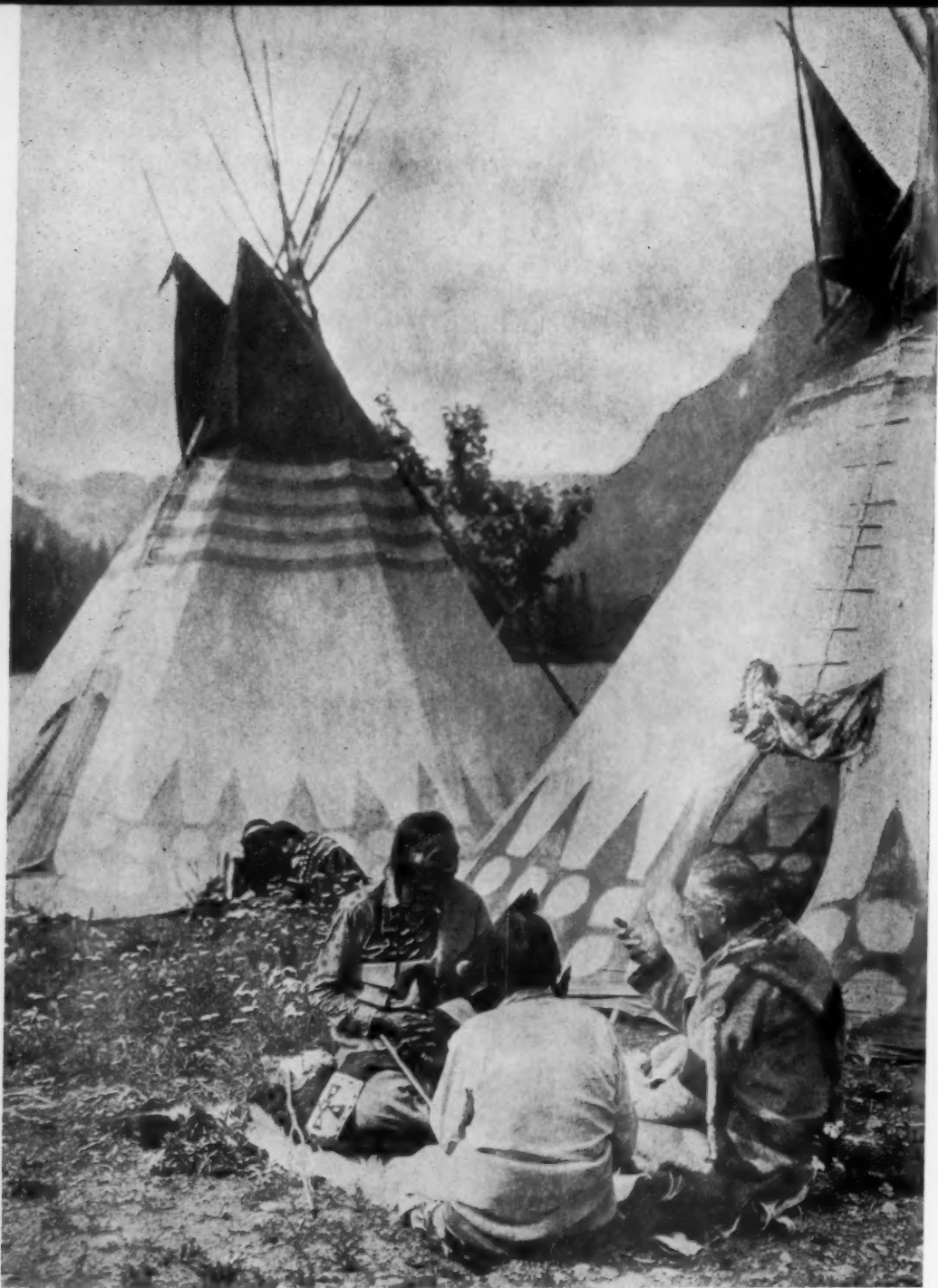
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Citadel and Fusillade Mountains loom majestically over the mirrored silver of lovely St. Mary Lake; named long before establishment of Glacier National Park, by the devout Jesuit, Father DeSmet.







## Return to the Beloved Mountains

By James Willard Schultz

No living man could write of Glacier with the same heart and feeling as James Willard Schultz. We are honored to republish some of his prose.



AFTER an absence of many years, I have returned [July 12, 1915] to visit for a time my Blackfeet relatives and friends, and we are camping along the [Glacier National Park] mountain trails where, in the long ago, we hunted buffalo, and elk, and moose, and all the other game peculiar to this region.

To-day we pitched our lodges under Rising Wolf Mountain, that massive, sky-piercing, snow-crested height of red-and-gray rock which slopes up so steeply from the north shore of Upper Two Medicine Lake. This afternoon we saw upon it, some two or three thousand feet up toward its rugged crest, a few bighorn and a Rocky Mountain goat. But we may not kill them!

Said Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill: "There they are! Our meat, but the whites have taken them from us, even as they have taken everything else that is ours!" And so we are eating beef where once we feasted upon the rich ribs and loins of game, which tasted all the better because we trailed and killed it, and with no little labor brought it to the women-folk in camp.

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One of the most remarkable men the Old West ever knew was James Willard Schultz. His name and that of Glacier National Park and the Blackfeet Indians form an indissoluble trinity. As long as these majestic mountains endure the three names shall be inseparable. After his friend, Hugh Monroe, Schultz became one of the first white residents of the mountains and lakes. He married into the Blackfeet tribe, loving and understanding this picturesque tribe as few whites have ever done. For many years he memorialized his adopted people and country through great tomes of able writing.

This son of well-to-do Boonville, N. Y., parents had prepared and was ready to enter West Point for a military career when he visited an uncle at St. Louis in 1877. The stories he heard there of the frontier region to the north fascinated him. He wrote to his mother for \$500 and permission to visit the northern Rocky Mountains, promising to return to school in the fall. He never returned.

After an interesting 2,100 mile river boat trip, he reached Fort Benton in July, 1877. The country was even more exciting than imagined. Soon Schultz was a partner of the veteran Joe Kipp, trading primarily in buffalo robes with the Indians. In 1880 they took in more than 4,000 tanned robes at about \$3 each, which were speedily sold to Boston buyers at an average price of \$7. But the buffalo were almost gone and within two years the trade had vanished. With his profits he settled in the Glacier region, married the Blackfeet maiden, Musti Ahwaton Ahki, was accepted into the tribe with the name Apikuni or Far-off-White Robe, and lived fully and satisfactorily

Rising Wolf Mountain! What a fitting and splendid monument it is to the first white man to traverse the foothills of the Rockies between the Saskatchewan and the Missouri! Hugh Monroe was his English name. His father was Captain Hugh Monroe, of the English army; his mother was Amelie de la Roche, a daughter of a noble family of French *emigres*. Hugh Monroe, Junior, was born in Montreal in 1798. In 1814 he received permission to enter the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, and one year later—in the summer of 1815—he arrived at its new post, Mountain Fort, on the North Fork of the Saskatchewan and close to the foothills of the Rockies.

At that time the Company had but recently entered Blackfeet territory, and none of its *engages* understood their language; an interpreter was needed, and the Factor appointed Monroe to fit himself for the position. The Blackfeet were leaving the Fort to hunt and trap along the tributaries of the Missouri during the winter, and he went with them, under the protection of the head chief, who had nineteen wives and two lodges and an immense band

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the life of his Red Brothers. Here his son, Hart Merriam—at present an artist in Arizona known as Lone Wolf—was born.

When his Blackfeet wife died in early 1903, his life as an Indian was ended. He plunged into writing, but the sadness of the mountain and Indian associations weighed too heavily. In 1904 James Willard Schultz became Literary Critic for the Los Angeles TIMES. He spent most of the next two decades writing, in California and Arizona. But in the summer months he returned religiously to his old haunts in the Glacier Park region. During this time he produced countless articles, including many never-to-be-forgotten juveniles for THE AMERICAN BOY and YOUTH'S COMPANION. Because of his long association with George Bird Grinnell, whom he introduced to Glacier, much of his mature writing appeared in Grinnell's FOREST AND STREAM. Houghton Mifflin Co. published many of his fine books. In 1931 he married Jessie Louise Donaldson, an English instructor at Montana State College. She was with him at the time of his death, June 11, 1947, at 87, at Lander, Wyoming. He was buried among his brothers on Blackfeet soil. The material which follows, from Chapters I and IV of BLACKFEET TALES OF GLACIER NATIONAL PARK (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1916) is brought back into print through the generosity of his widow. The title is ours. We are deeply indebted to Jessie Donaldson Schultz for these memorable reminiscences from the masterful pen of James Willard Schultz.

—Michael Kennedy.

of horses. By easy stages they traveled along the foot of the Rockies to Sun River, where they wintered, and then in the spring, instead of returning to the Saskatchewan, they crossed the Missouri, hunted in the Yellowstone country that summer, wintered on the Missouri at the mouth of the Marias River, and returned to Mountain Fort the following spring with all the furs their horses could carry.

Instead of one winter, Monroe had passed two years with the tribe, and in that time he had acquired a wife, a daughter of the great chief, a good knowledge of the language, and an honorable name, Ma-kwi-i-po-wak-sin (Rising Wolf) which was given him because of his bravery in a battle with the Crows in the Yellowstone country.

During Monroe's two years' absence from the Fort, another *engage* had learned the Blackfeet language from a Cree Indian, who spoke it well, so that this man became the interpreter, and Monroe was ordered to remain with the Piegan tribe of the Blackfeet, to travel with them, and see that they came annually to the Fort to trade in the winter catch of furs. And this exactly suited him; he much preferred roaming the plains with his chosen people; the stuffy rooms of the Fort had no attractions for a man of his nature.

How I envy Hugh Monroe, the first white man to traverse the plains lying between the Upper Saskatchewan and the Upper Missouri, and the first to see many portions of the great stretch of the mountain region between the Missouri and the Yellowstone. He has himself often told me that "every day of that life was a day of great joy!"

Monroe was a famous hunter and trapper, and a warrior as well. He was a member of the Ai-in-i-kiks, or Seizer band of the All Friends Society, and the duty of the Seizers was to keep order in the great camp, and see that the people obeyed the hunting laws—a most difficult task at times. On several occasions he went with his and other bands to war against other tribes, and once, near Great Salt Lake, when with a party of nearly two hundred warriors, he saved the lives

of the noted Jim Bridger and his party of trappers. Bridger had with him a dozen white men and as many Snake Indians, the latter bitter enemies of the Blackfeet. The Snakes were discovered and the Blackfeet party was preparing to charge them, when Monroe saw that there were white men behind them. "Stop! White men are with them. We must let them go their way in peace!" Monroe shouted to his party.

"But they are Snake white men, and therefore our enemy: we shall kill them all!" the Blackfeet chief answered. However, such was Monroe's power over his comrades that he finally persuaded them to remain where they were, and he went forward with a flag of truce, and found that his friend Jim Bridger was the leader of the other party. That evening white men and Snakes and Blackfeet ate and smoked together! It was a narrow escape for Bridger and his handful of men.

Monroe had three sons and three daughters by his Indian wife, all of whom grew into fine, stalwart men and women. Up and down the country he roamed with them, trapping and hunting, and often fighting hostile war parties. They finally all married, and in his old age he lived with one and another of them until his death, in 1896, in his ninety-eighth year. We buried him near the buffalo cliffs, down on the Two Medicine River, where he had seen many a herd of the huge animals decoyed to their death. And then we named this mountain for him. A fitting tribute, I think, to one of the bravest yet most kindly men of the old, old West!

\* \* \*

At the upper east side and head of this beautiful lake [Upper Two Medicine] rises a pyramidal mountain of great height and grandeur. A frowse of pine timber on its lower front slope, and its ever-narrowing side slopes above, give it a certain resemblance to a buffalo bull. Upon looking at a recent map of the country I found that it had been named "Mount Rockwell." So, turning to Yellow Wolf, I said: "The whites have given that mountain yonder the name of a white man. It is so marked upon this paper."

Hart Schultz, the only son of James Willard Schultz. An able artist, he paints under the Indian name of Lone Wolf, in Arizona, where he has resided for many years.

The old man, half blind and quite feeble, roused up when he heard that, and cried out: "Is it so? Not satisfied with taking our mountains, the whites even take away the ancient names we have given them! They shall not do it! You tell them so! That mountain yonder is Rising Bull Mountain, and by that name it must ever be called! Rising Bull was one of our great chiefs: what more fitting than that the mountain should always bear his name?"

"Rising Bull was a chief in two tribes," Yellow Wolf went on. "In his youth he married a Flathead girl, at a time when we were at peace with that people, and after a winter or two she persuaded him to take her across the mountains for a visit with her relatives. Rising Bull came to like them and all the Flathead people so well that he remained with them a number of winters, and because of his bravery, and his kind and generous nature, the Flatheads soon appointed him one of their chiefs. When he was about forty winters of age, some young men of both tribes quarreled over a gambling game and several were killed on each side. That, of course, ended the peace pact; war was declared, and as Rising Bull could not fight his own people, he came back to us with his Flathead wife, and was a leader in the war, which lasted for several years. When that was ended, he continued to lead war parties against the Crows, the Sioux, the Assiniboinés, and the far-off Snakes, and was always successful. Came the dreadful Measles winter [of 1859-60], and with hundreds of our people, he died. He left a son, White Quiver, a very brave young warrior, and two years after his father's death, he was killed in a raid against the Crows.

"Ai! Rising Bull was a brave man. And oh, so gentle-hearted! So good to the widows and orphans; to all in any kind of distress! We must in some way see that this mountain continues to bear his name," said Tail-Feathers-Coming-over-the-Hill.

And to that I most heartily agree.

\* \* \*



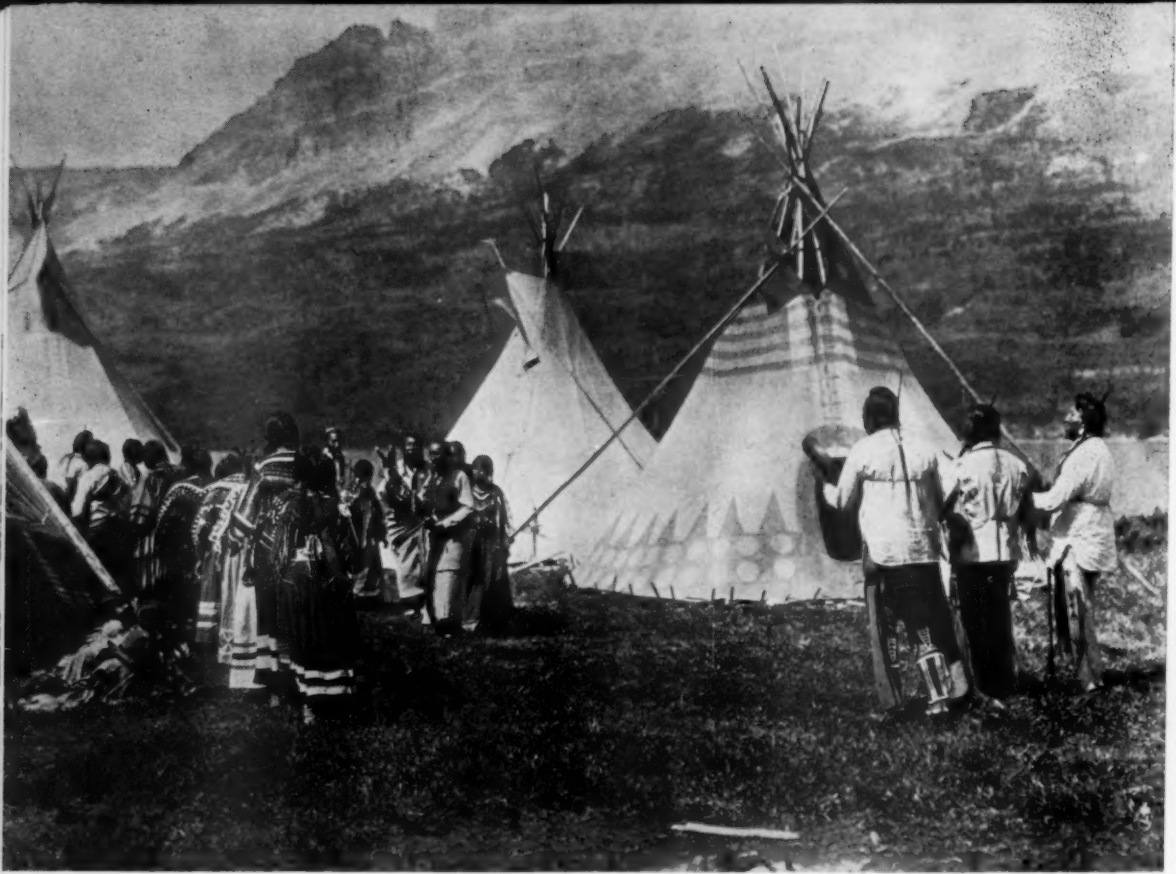
#### Puht-o-muk-si-kim-iks (The Lakes Inside)

WE LEFT Little River on the 5th [of August, 1915], crossed the big ridge dividing the Arctic and the Atlantic waters, and made camp here on the big prairie at the foot of the Upper St. Mary's Lake.

In the old days this great valley, hemmed in by gigantic mountains, was my favorite hunting ground after the buffalo were exterminated and there was no more sport to be had upon the plains.

Hugh Monroe, or Rising Wolf, was, of course, the first white man to see these most beautiful of all our Northern Rockies lakes; with the Piegan Blackfeet he camped at them in 1816, and long afterward, with his growing family of hardy sons and daughters, this became his favorite hunting and trapping ground. When, in the 1830's that valiant and much beloved missionary, Father De Smet, S. J., was visiting the various tribes of this Northwest country, Monroe was engaged to take him to a conference with the North Blackfeet, then camping on the Saskatchewan River. *En route* they camped at the foot of the lower of these lakes, and there erected a large wooden cross, and named the two sheets of water, St. Mary's Lakes. Later, the Stevens expedition named them Chief Mountain Lakes, but





that name did not last. Monroe and his brother trappers were all Catholics, and they continued to use the name that the great priest had given them, and on the maps they are St. Mary's Lakes to-day.

During my long friendship with him, Monroe told me many stories of his adventures here in early days. This was his favorite mountain resort on account of the great numbers of moose that inhabited the heavily timbered valley and mountain slopes, and of the great variety and numbers of fur animals that were found here. The valley swarmed with elk and deer; there were countless flocks of bighorn and goats on the mountains, and herds of buffalo everywhere along the lower lake, and below it; but Monroe liked best of all the flesh of moose, and killed large numbers of them every season that he camped here.

His method of catching wolves was simple and unique. He would build an oblong, pyramidal log pen about eight by sixteen feet at the base, and eight feet in height, the last layer of logs being placed about eighteen inches apart. Easily climbing the slope of this, the wolves would jump down

through the narrow aperture at the top to feed upon the quantities of meat that had been placed inside to decoy them, but they could not jump out. Often, of a morning, the trapper and his sons would find ten or more big wolves imprisoned in the trap, and, powder and ball being very costly, they would kill them with bow and arrows, skin them, and drag the carcasses to the river and cast them into it, then take the hides home and peg them on the ground to dry. In this manner they would often, in the spring, have several hundred wolf pelts to pack in to Fort Benton for sale, and prime pelts sold at five dollars each, in trade. Their catch of beaver, otter, mink, martin, and fisher was also large.

Monroe always camped at the foot of the lower lake, near the outlet, and was there more than once attacked by roving war parties of Assiniboinés, Crows, and even the Yanktonais. The horses were kept at night in a strong corral just back of the lodge, and in the daytime were watched by some member of the family while they grazed on the rich prairie



grasses. All the family—John and Francois, the sons, Millie and Lizzie, the daughters—and even the mother had guns, flintlocks, and a good supply of powder and ball. Early one morning a large war party was discovered approaching the camp, sneaking from bush to bush, some crawling on all fours through the high grass. Lizzie opened fire upon them and killed her man, and then the fire became general on both sides. But the Monroes, in their trenches surrounding the lodge, had the best of it from the start, and eventually made the enemy retreat with a loss of five of their number. Late the following night the Assiniboinés crept in to make another attack, but the Monroes were expecting them, waiting for them, and in the bright moonlight could take fairly accurate aim. They again drove them off, with a loss of two more of their number, and that time they kept going. Nothing more was seen of them. But for some days the Monroes did not venture far from their camp.

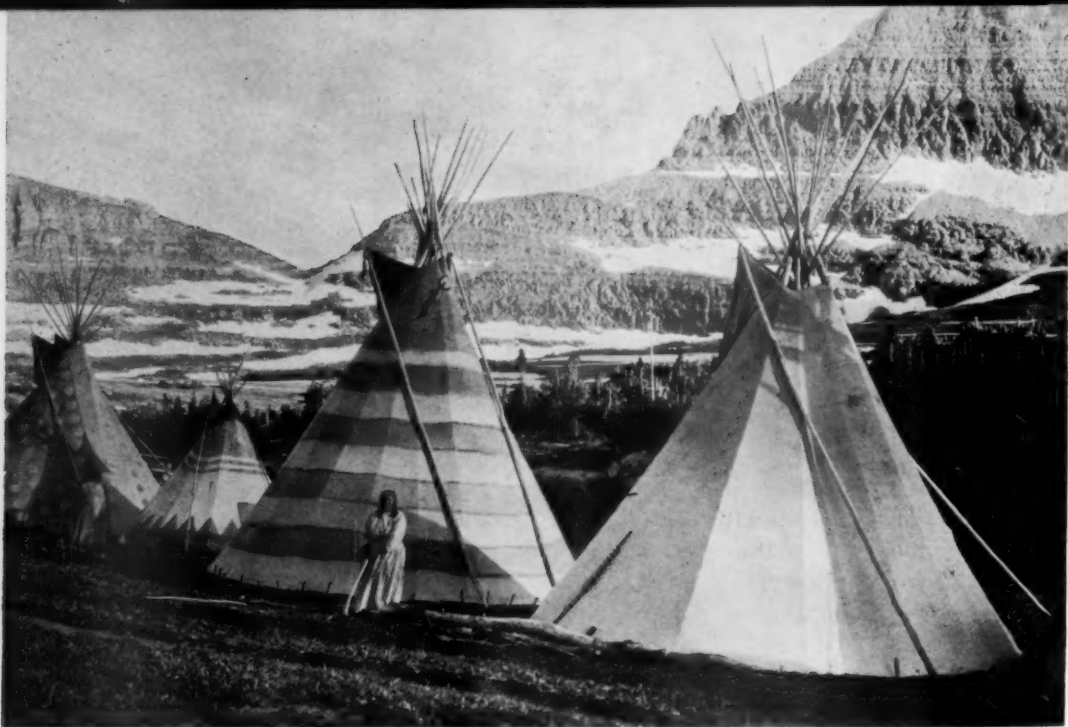
I first saw the St. Mary's Lakes in October, 1882, in company with Charles Phemmister, James Rutherford, Charles Carter, and Oliver Sanderville, all old plainsmen, good company, and best of hunters. We outfitted for the trip at the Old Agency, on Badger Creek, Blackfeet Reservation, and started northward. There was no trail after leaving the crossing of Little or Milk River, and we struck up country toward the big gap in the mountains, in which we knew the lakes must lie, and that evening camped on the shore of a large prairie lake that was black with ducks. I shot a dozen or more of them as they flew over a long point, and to my surprise and delight found that they were all canvasbacks and redheads, and very fat from feeding upon the wild celery beds of the lake. I named the sheet of water Duck Lake.

The next day we made a trail down the long hill, and camped at the foot of the lower lake, close to the outlet. Then began two weeks of most glorious sport. We shot elk, deer, and several grizzlies in the valley, and bighorn on a mountain that I named Flat Top, and combed that moun-

tain from one end to another and on all sides for an animal known to us as the Rocky Mountain ibex. We had seen several skins of them, bought from the Stony Indians by Captain John Healy, of Fort Whoopup and Fort Benton fame, but none of us nor any man of our acquaintance—and we knew every trapper and trader in the country—had ever seen one of the animals alive. Of course we found none, as this sub-Arctic animal, which we later learned is a true antelope, and not an ibex or goat, seldom leaves the high cliff mountains for the outer and lower ones of the range. When, later, we did find them, we in our ignorance named them Rocky Mountain goats, and that is the common name for them to-day, despite the fact that they are antelopes.

On this first visit to the St. Mary's Lakes country I was so impressed by the grandeur of its mountains, the beauty of its many lakes, and its plenitude of game, that thereafter for many it was, more than anywhere else, my home. In 1883 I brought out to the lakes a good boat that I had had built for me at Fort Conrad, and with it learned that both lakes were alive with whitefish and Mackinaw, Dolly Varden, and cutthroat trout. During the summer of this year I named Red Eagle Mountain and Red Eagle Lake, after my uncle-in-law, Red Eagle, owner of the Thunder medicine pipe, and one of the most high-minded, gentle-hearted Indians that I ever knew. In the autumn of this year Dr. George Bird Grinnell joined me, and we hunted around the lower lake, and went up Swift Current far enough to see what we thought would possibly prove to be a glacier. We had not then time to learn if our surmise was correct. During our hunt Dr. Grinnell killed a large ram at long range, offhand, with one shot from his old Sharp's rifle, on the mountain next above Flat Top, and I therefore named it Single-Shot Mountain.

In the summer of this year I also named Divide Mountain, because it is the outermost mountain on the Atlantic-Arctic watershed. At the same time I named Kootenai Mountain, also for a very good reason. Some members of that tribe were en-



The colorfully decorated tipis of the Blackfeet provide a harmonious foreground at timberline to the rugged Rockies near Logan Pass in Glacier National Park. The goat, p. 33, is just off Gunsite Pass Trail.

camped beside me at the foot of the upper lake. I noticed often that they would ride out of camp at daylight and return at noon or a little later with all the bighorn or goat meat that their horses could carry, and finally I asked them where they went to make their killings so quickly.

"Come with me to-morrow and I will show you something," one of them answered. And the next morning I rode with him up Red Eagle Valley and part way up a mountain, where we tied our horses and went on afoot for a couple of hundred yards. Then, looking down into a *coulee*, we saw a dozen or more bighorn in the bottom of it and killed four of them. They had been eating salty clay and drinking from a salt spring that oozes from the ground there, so I named the place Kootenai Lick, and also gave the mountain the name Kootenai. Thereafter I knew where to go for bighorn when I wanted one.

In 1884 I named Almost-a-Dog Mountain, after one of the few survivors of the Baker massacre, which took place on the Marias River, January 1, 1870. At that time Colonel E. M. Baker, with a couple of companies of cavalry from Fort Shaw,

Montana, was trying to find the camp of Owl Child, a Piegan Blackfoot, and murderer of a settler named Malcolm Clark, and arrest him. By mistake he struck the camp of Heavy Runner and his band of friendly Indians, and although the chief came running toward him waving his letters of recommendation and his Washington medals, Baker ordered his men to begin firing, and a terrible massacre ensued, the Indians firing not one shot in defense, as about all the able-bodied men were at the time on a buffalo hunt. When the firing was over, two hundred and seventeen old men and women and children lay dead and dying in their lodges and in the camp. The soldiers then shot the wounded, collected the lodges and property of the Indians in great piles, and set fire to them and departed. [As later attested by Joseph Kipp.]

In the autumn of 1885 Dr. Grinnell, J. B. Monroe, and I made a trip up Swift Current River, and discovered and roughly measured the big glacier at the head of its middle fork, Dr. Grinnell killing a big ram on the ice while we were traversing it and avoiding its deep crevasses. That evening Monroe and I named the glacier

in honor of Dr. Grinnell, and also named the mountain to the north of it after him. On the following day we were joined by Lieutenant—now Major—J. H. Beacom, Third Infantry, and he gave my Indian name, Apikuni, to the high mountain between Swift Current and the South Fork of Kennedy Creek. Upon our return to Upper St. Mary's Lake, Dr. Grinnell named Little Chief Mountain, Monroe gave Citadel Mountain its name, and I named Yellow Fish, Goat, Going-to-the-Sun, and Four Bears Mountains. Yellow Fish (O-to-ko-mi) was an Indian who often hunted with us, and Four Bears (Nis-su-kyai-yo) was the Blackfeet camp crier, and a most amusing man.

It was in 1886, I believe, that we three, and my old-time friend, William Jackson, one-time scout for General Custer and General Miles, cut a trail to the head of the St. Mary's Valley and discovered the great sheet of ice that we named the Blackfeet Glacier. We at the same time named Gun-Sight Pass, and named the peak just west of the glacier, Mount Jackson. It should be Sik-si-kai-kwan (Blackfeet Man), Jackson's Indian name. He was a grandson of Hugh Monroe, a real plainsman, and one of the bravest men I ever knew.

Going-to-the-Sun has been climbed this day, and a flag has been planted upon its summit, by Paul E. Walker, Esq., of Topeka, Kansas. Owing to a high cliff upon its upper shoulder, the mountain has always been considered unclimbable. But after long search, and with no little risk, Mr. Walker finally worked out a way up the wall, and out upon the extreme crest, and was undoubtedly the first man, white or red, ever to stand there. He reports that a magnificent view of the mountains and plains is to be had from the great height.

\* \* \*

#### PICTURE CREDITS

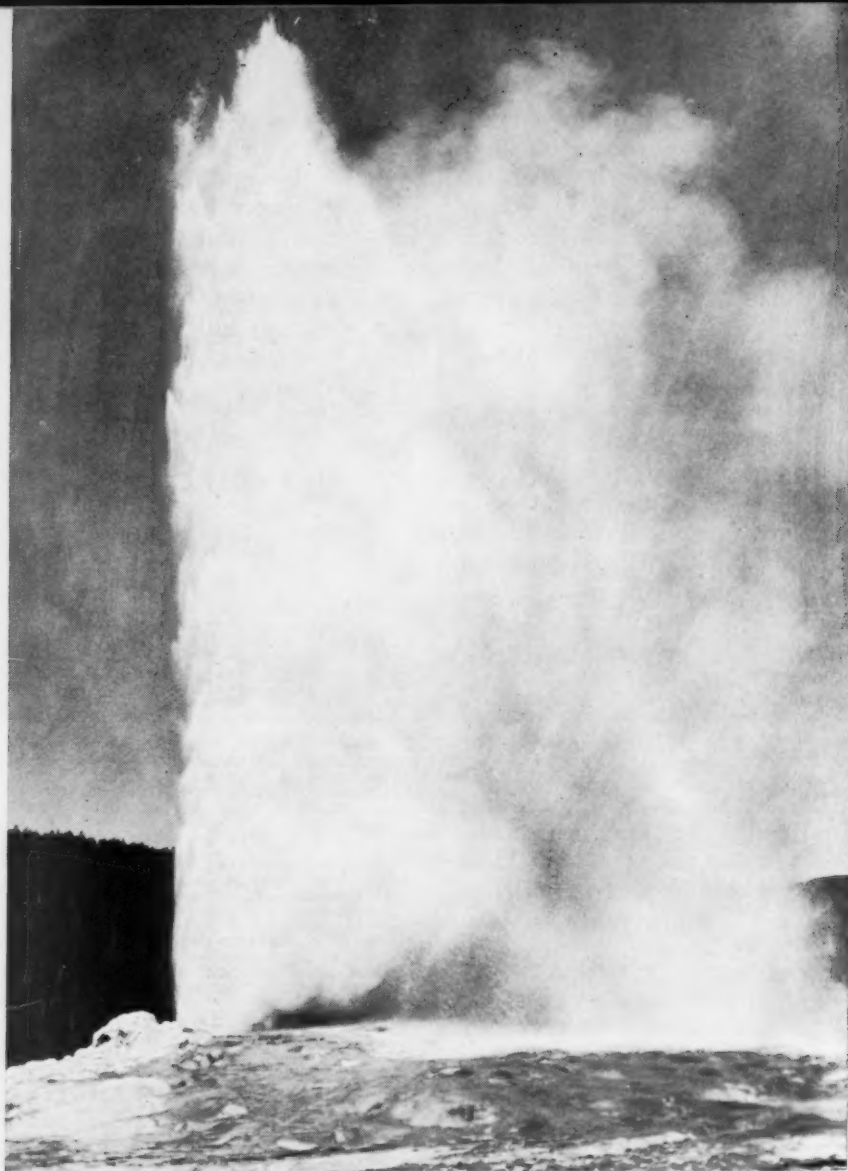
These photographs were carefully selected from many sources. They are the work of many capable people. Where known the photographer's name also appears. The largest number are from the files of Glacier National Park, through courtesy of officials there and The National Park Service, including: pages 2 (George Grant), 12, 13 (T. J. Hileman), 14 (Grant), 16, 17 & 20 (Hileman), 19, 25 (M. E. Beatty), 29, and 32 (Grant).

Those on pages 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 26 and 30 are the work of an unknown photographer. They were originally done, it is believed, to illustrate the James Willard Schultz book **BLACKFEET TALES OF GLACIER NATIONAL PARK**. Some of these appear in that book. Reproduced through the co-operation of Glacier National Park, with the kind permission of Jessie Donaldson Schultz.

From the files of the Historical Society of Montana, come those from pages 18 and 23, top, (N. A. Forsyth), 21 and 24 (Hileman) and 29 (presented by Mrs. Wells Jewett). The contemporary pictures on pages 8, 15, 22 (top) and 33 are the work of a promising photographer, Aunda Ann Cole of Kalispell, Mont., who reserves all other rights. These have recently been shown in several national exhibits. All rights, including reproduction, on the C. M. Russell painting on page 10 reside with Walstein C. Findlay, Jr., Chicago. We are deeply indebted for these permissions.







Punctual Old Faithful. Below: Grotto Geyser, as the pioneer frontier photographer L. A. Huffman saw it during his frequent visits after 1882.



## Yellowstone Wonderland



**Y**ELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK is a household word in most parts of the world. School kids in distant corners of the globe are cognizant that there is such a place as this largest and oldest of the U. S. national parks. Most of this stems from the magical appeal of the thermal features. And, while this makes of Yellowstone an awe-inspiring, mysterious wonderland and lends it the greatest fame, this is by no means the whole picture. Merrill D. Beal, historian and seasonal park Ranger-Naturalist, who is the foremost contemporary chronicler of Yellowstone, touches broader vistas when he says:

"Yellowstone is one of these irreducible frontiers which should never vanish, but to find a frontier one must first have the spirit of a frontiersman. Therefore within its confines are vast wilderness zones into which people may still go who cherish the elemental conditions of earth and its denizens. Here there may always be a pristine land, reminiscent of the primitive environment of mankind. Here is a temporary refuge for people distraught by the strain and turmoil of modern life . . . The nation which leads the world in feverish business activity requires playgrounds as well as workshops . . . Yellowstone—The Gem of the Mountains . . . an incomparable heritage in the divine legacy that is America . . ."

The first white men in the West heard of the foul-smelling, evil, unnatural manifestations from the Indians. Lewis and Clark brushed near the brimstone region. Their cohort, John Colter, actually saw a part of it. Then there was durable Jim Bridger, who could spin a tall tale on much less exciting subjects. He enjoyed a field day with his whoppers on the wonderland—of echoing canyons which were nature's alarm clocks; huge mountains of glass; streams of alum, so strong that they even puckered distance; and miles of petrified hills, covered with petrified flora and fauna ("petrified birds singing petrified songs") in fact, where all things were lifeless; rivers, forests, and even the light of sun, moon and stars had a petrified cast!

Jim Bridger didn't know it for years, but actually some of his tall tales were not as strange as the truth. In a little booklet issued by the National Park Service in 1919, purposely played down, a description of Wonderland's magical 3,348 square miles, tersely reads:

"More geysers than in all rest of world together—Boiling Springs—Mud Volcanoes—Petrified forests—Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, remarkable for gorgeous coloring—Large lakes—Many large streams and waterfalls—Vast wilderness, greatest wild bird and animal preserves in world—Exceptional trout fishing."

What more could one expect of a wonderland?

After the tall tales of Jim Bridger and John Colter had run their course in the hot stove league, "Colter's Hell" was finally examined scientifically. The most colorful party was



This might have been one of the great documentary photos of Yellowstone's early history, the encampment of the Washburn-Doane Expedition at Madison Junction, Sept. 19, 1870. But no known photo was taken, here where the green Gibbons meets the churning Firehole River to form the trout-laden Madison. This was a re-enactment of the famous campsite, in 1929.

## THE WASHBURN-DOANE EXPEDITION OF 1870

By W. Turrentine Jackson

THE REGION now included within Yellowstone National Park had been well known to fur men who assiduously trapped its streams, but much of their knowledge of the natural phenomena of the region passed away with the decline of the fur trade. Interest in the Upper Yellowstone revived in 1866 when Jim Bridger visited the Montana settlements, and his tales of trapping activities along the Yellowstone aroused the enthusiasm of several Helena citizens. For several years after Bridger's visit this group planned annually to visit the geysers, hot springs, and lakes rumored to exist at the headwaters of the Yellowstone, but Indian danger and business commitments forced the abandonment of each successive enterprise.<sup>1</sup> Eventually this activity resulted in the Folsom-Cook expedition of 1869, the first purposeful exploration of the region. The oral and written reports of Folsom and Cook concerning this journey resulted the next year in preparations for a more pretentious exploration.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Montana citizens interested in the Yellowstone were some of the foremost men in the territory. The head of the proposed expedition was Henry Dana Washburn, Surveyor-General of Public Lands in Montana, who had served in the Union armies during the Civil War and had been a member of the United States Congress from the state of Indiana.<sup>3</sup> Although Washburn was the nominal head of the Yellowstone expedition, the venture was promoted primarily by Samuel Thomas Hauser, a civil engineer and president of the First National Bank of Helena. Hauser had come to Montana with the Fisk expedition of 1862\* and in June of that year he was on Gold Creek with Granville and James Stuart. The growth of his business and financial interests paralleled the development of Montana. In 1885 he was appointed Territorial Governor, but resigned within two years in order to attend to his personal affairs. Hauser lived to see Montana develop from a wilderness to a prosperous state in the Union.<sup>4</sup>

Second only to Hauser as a promoter of Yellowstone exploration was Nathaniel Pitt Langford, who became, in 1872, the first superintendent of Yellowstone National Park. Langford came to Montana in 1862 as a member of the Fisk expedition in company with David Folsom and Hauser.\* He early became associated with the vigilante method of law enforcement and later told of his experiences in an account *Vigilante Days and Ways*.<sup>5</sup>

Judge Cornelius Hedges, a highly respected member of the exploring party, had arrived at the Bannack mines on Grasshopper Creek in 1864. He moved to

Last Chance Gulch in 1865 and there entered into several mining adventures or practiced law when the opportunity presented itself. After the return of the Yellowstone expedition Hedges was actively engaged in the public affairs of the Montana Territory serving as a United States District Attorney, Territorial Superintendent of Schools, a member of the constitutional convention in 1884, and in the state senate. It was Hedges who proposed the creation of the Yellowstone as the first national park.<sup>6</sup> This proposal was acted upon favorably very largely because of the prominence of the men who made up the Washburn-Doane expedition.

Although the other citizens who accompanied this expedition were well known in Montana at the time, they did not participate actively in the later public affairs of the state. Warren C. Gillette, who came to Montana on a Missouri steamer at the beginning of the gold rush in 1862, was a pioneer merchant in Bannack, Virginia

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel P. Langford, *The Discovery of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul, 1905), 24.

<sup>2</sup> David E. Folsom, "The Folsom-Cook Exploration of the Upper Yellowstone in the Year 1869," *Montana Historical Society Contributions*, V (1904), 356.

<sup>3</sup> "Life Record of General Washburn," MS. in Washburn Papers in possession of Robert Washburn, of El Paso, Texas; see also *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1671.

<sup>4</sup> Hauser Papers located in archives of State Historical Society Library in Helena, Montana; see also *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 402.

<sup>5</sup> Warren Upham, "Nathaniel Pitt Langford," *Minnesota Historical Society Contributions*, XV (1915), 786; see also Olin D. Wheeler, "N. P. Langford," *Minnesota Historical Society Contributions*, XV (1915), 634.

<sup>6</sup> Wyllys A. Hedges, "Cornelius Hedges," *Montana Historical Society Contributions*, VII (1910). See also Langford-Hedges Correspondence in possession of Mrs. Edna Palmer of Helena, Montana.

\* Mr. Jackson is in error on this point. Hauser did come to Montana in 1862, but had passage on the Spread Eagle to Fort Benton via the Missouri River.





Philetus W. Norris was the second Superintendent of Yellowstone, succeeding N. P. Langford in 1877. Here, second from the right, he leads the first wagon party into the Upper Firehole Basin, Aug. 30, 1878. He provided rare energy in exploring further aspects of the wilderness wonderland.

City, and Helena.<sup>7</sup> Another member of the expedition was Truman C. Everts, former Assessor of Internal Revenue for Montana. An assistant to Everts, Walter Trumbull, who was the son of United States Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, also participated in the exploration. After the return of the expedition, Trumbull became special correspondent of the *Helena Daily Herald*, traveling with William H. Clagett, successful Republican candidate for Congress in 1871.<sup>8</sup> Shortly after his arrival in Washington, Clagett introduced the bill for the creation of Yellowstone Park in the House of Representatives.

Benjamin Stickney, whom Langford considered one of the most enthusiastic members of the expedition, was a pioneer merchant of Helena. He was appointed commissary of the expedition and was responsible for the selection of the provisions of the entire group.<sup>9</sup> Jacob Smith, the ninth civilian to participate in the exploration, was not enrolled in the party until all the preparations were made. Unfortunately, he soon acquired the enmity of Langford, diarist of the group. From Langford's written report and the pencil sketches of Walter Trumbull, it appears that Jake Smith was chiefly noted for his willingness to sleep while on guard, and to permit anyone else to stand in his place. Langford has even characterized him as "constitutionally unfitted to be a member of such a party of exploration."<sup>10</sup>

These men hesitated to go into the region of the headwaters of the Yellowstone

without a military escort, because several years before a prospecting expedition from the Montana settlement had been attacked by Crow Indians and a number of men had been killed and injured in that vicinity.<sup>11</sup> In the spring of 1870, Langford interviewed General Winfield S. Hancock in St. Paul, Minnesota, about the possibility of getting a military escort for the proposed expedition. Hauser also conferred with General Hancock and was assured that an escort would be furnished.<sup>12</sup> General Philip H. Sheridan, in command of the Division of the Missouri which included Montana, also deserves some credit for authorizing an escort of soldiers to accompany the civilians. While traveling from Corinne, Utah, to Helena on an 1870 tour of inspection he gained some knowledge of the geysers from a fellow stage passenger, an old mountaineer. This accidental information caused the General to take an interest in Yellowstone exploration, and he states in his *Memoirs* that he was responsible for authorizing the military escort.<sup>13</sup>

Plans for the expedition began to take definite shape by August, 1870, with approximately twenty men listed as mem-

<sup>7</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 31.

<sup>8</sup> Louis C. Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, 1932), 13.

<sup>9</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 31-32.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>11</sup> James Stuart, "The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863," *Montana Historical Society Contributions*, I (1876), 190-93.

<sup>12</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 24.

<sup>13</sup> P. H. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs* (New York, 1888), I, 348-50.

bers, but a threatened raid of the Crow Indians on the Gallatin and Yellowstone valleys caused a majority of those enrolled to withdraw. These events had little effect upon Hauser, who told Langford that he would attempt the journey if he could find two acquaintances or friends to accompany him. Consequently Langford and Hauser wrote a letter to James Stuart, at the time in Deer Lodge, requesting him to go with them. Benjamin Stickney also wrote Stuart about the same time, stating that there were at least eight persons who would go on the trip and requested Stuart to join the groups.<sup>14</sup>

Stuart replied to Hauser and Langford as follows:

Deer Lodge, M. T.  
August 9th, 1870.

Dear Sam and Langford:

Stickney wrote me that the Yellow Stone party had dwindled down to eight persons. This is not enough to stand guard, and I won't go into that country without having a guard every night. From present news it is probable that the Crows will be scattered on all the headwaters of the Yellow Stone, and if that is the case, they would not want any better fun than to clean up a party of eight (that does not stand guard) and say that the Sioux did it, as they said when they went through us on the Big Horn [expedition of 1863]. It will not be safe to go into that country with less than fifteen men, and not very safe with that number. . . .

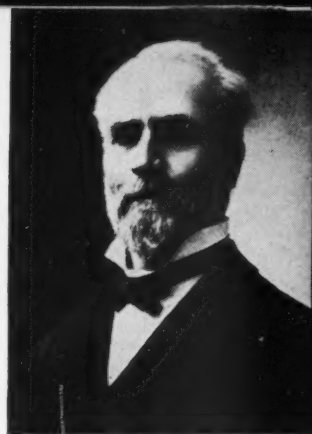
At the commencement of this letter I said that I would not go unless the party stood guard. I will take that back, for I am just d— fool enough to go anywhere that anybody else is willing to go, only I want it understood that very likely some of us will lose our hair. I will be on hand Sunday evening, unless I hear that the trip has been postponed.

Fraternally yours,

Jas Stuart.

Since writing the above, I have received a telegram saying "twelve of us going certain." Glad to hear it—the more the better. Will bring two pack horses and one pack saddle.<sup>15</sup>

N. P. Langford, first Superintendent of Yellowstone, and one of the truly remarkable men in Montana Territorial affairs.



On August 9, General H. D. Washburn was told by chance that Second Lieutenant G. C. Doane of Fort Ellis<sup>16</sup> was interested in the Yellowstone exploration. He immediately wrote Doane and received the following reply:

Fort Ellis, M. T.  
August 12, 1870

General H. D. Washburn  
Surveyor General Montana

Dear Sir:

Your kind favor of the 9th ult came yesterday, and I reply at the first opportunity for transmittal. Judge Hosmer<sup>17</sup> was correct in regards my *earnest desire* to go on the trip proposed, but mistaken in relation to my *free agency* in the premises. To obtain permission for an escort will require an order from General Hancock, authorizing Col Baker to make the detail.

If Hauser and yourself will telegraph at once on rec't to General Hancock at Saint Paul, Minn—stating the object of the expedition, etc and requesting that an order be sent to Comdg. Officer at Fort Ellis, M. T.—. . . it will doubtless be favorably considered . . . Col Baker has promised me the detail if authority be furnished—. . . I will reimburse you the expenses of the messages which should be *paid both ways* to insure prompt attention.

<sup>14</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 24.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart to Hauser and Langford, Langford Papers, Montana State Historical Society Library, Helena, Montana.

<sup>16</sup> Fort Ellis located near Bozeman, Montana, and near the present northern boundary of Yellowstone National Park.

<sup>17</sup> A reference to H. L. Hosmer, Chief Justice of the Territory of Montana, who was appointed in 1864 at the time of the creation of the territory.

I will be able to furnish Tents and Camp equipage better than you can get it in Helena—and can furnish them without trouble to your whole party. Hoping we may make the trip in company I have the honor to remain,

Your Obedt Servt  
G. C. Doane

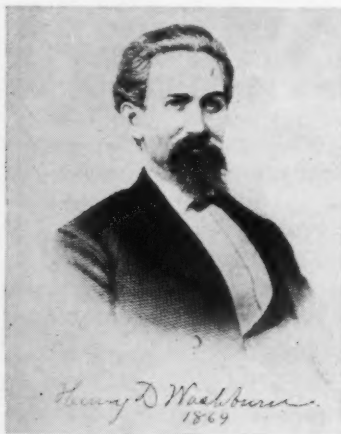
Please let me know what steps you take in the matter as soon as convenient.<sup>18</sup>

As a result of this letter, Henry D. Washburn joined Sam Hauser in a telegram to General Hancock in St. Paul requesting him to provide the escort promised during the previous spring.

The plans for the expedition were made public by the *Helena Herald* on Saturday, August 13, 1870:

Monday morning at eight o'clock, is the time set for the departure of the long talked of Yellowstone expedition. At Fort Ellis the party will be strengthened by a military escort, consisting of Lieut. Doan [sic] and twelve men. . . .

Washburn, we understand, has been chosen as commander of the expedition. The General will make a safe and trusty leader, and if it becomes necessary to fight Indians, he will always be found at the post of duty.



P. S. Since the above was in type, we learn that the time for departure has been postponed until Wednesday next, one of the party—Mr. James Stuart of Deer Lodge, having business that will detain him until then.

On August 15, Langford received a letter from James Stuart stating that his name had been drawn for jury service in the federal court and that it would be impossible for him to join the expedition.<sup>19</sup> Stuart was a man of unusual force and decision, a splendid mountaineer and explorer, and he had been counted upon by some as the leader of the party. His inability to go with them was a disappointment to all.

In the meantime on August 14, Major General Hancock had telegraphed an order to the Commandant at Fort Ellis stating that a military escort should be dispatched to insure the safety of the party. On the same day he reported to the Adjutant General that Lt. G. C. Doane was the officer in charge.<sup>20</sup>

The day before the departure of the expedition from Helena, the *Herald* stated:

As announced in the *Herald* of Saturday evening, the Yellowstone expedition will leave Helena tomorrow (Wednesday) morning. . . .

The *Herald* which will send a reporter along, will furnish its readers with important letters from various points as the opportunity and limited facilities for transmission will afford. At 9 o'clock tomorrow morning then the roll will be called on Main Street, at the foot of Broadway, and the expedition will take up its march to the front.<sup>21</sup>

The only mention of the expedition in the *Herald* for August 17, the day of departure, is an advertisement which runs as follows:

The Yellowstone Expedition will wish themselves back many times during the next month, just to get a good square meal at the WALLA WALLA HOTEL, where it can always be had. Extra fine liquors and cigars at the bar.

<sup>18</sup> Doane to Washburn, August 12, 1870, in Hauser Papers.

<sup>19</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Merrill G. Burlingame, "Exploring Yellowstone Park and the Northern Plains," MS. at Montana State College, Bozeman, Montana. In this study Professor Burlingame, in conjunction with Mary I. Doane, has carefully edited the letters, reports, and diaries of G. C. Doane.

<sup>21</sup> *Helena Herald*, August 16, 1870.



The party proceeded from Helena to Fort Ellis, near Bozeman, a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles. Langford went ahead of the main party in order to attend to Masonic business in Bozeman and to interview the commander at Fort Ellis.<sup>22</sup> The rest of the party and the pack train arrived in Bozeman on the night of August 20,<sup>23</sup> and made camp on the East Gallatin River about a half mile from the fort.

Through the previous arrangement made with General Hancock by Washburn, Hauser, and Langford, a small cavalry escort of one sergeant and four privates under the command of Lt. G. C. Doane was procured. Doane was ordered to "escort the Surveyor-General of Montana to the falls and lakes of the Yellowstone, and return."<sup>24</sup>



LIEUT. GUSTAVUS C. DOANE.

Doane had grown to manhood in the spirit of the frontier. He was born in the frontier town of Galesburg, Illinois, homesteaded with his family in Oregon as a youth, and moved to California during the gold rush of '49. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he joined the forces of the United States as a member of the "California Hundred." When the war was over he was assigned to various forts in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain region, but the routine army work of quelling Indian uprisings and surveying areas in preparation for the settlement of whites did not permit an adequate outlet for his energy. Doane was particularly interested in exploring western America and was pleased at the opportunity to accompany the Yellowstone expedition of 1870.<sup>25</sup>

The expedition now numbered nineteen individuals: Henry D. Washburn, Nathaniel P. Langford, Samuel T. Hauser, Cornelius Hedges, Truman C. Everts, Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane, Sergeant William Baker, Private John Williamson, Private George W. McConnell, Private William Leitner, Warren C. Gillette, Benjamin Stickney, Walter Trumbull, Jacob Smith,<sup>26</sup> Private Charles Moore,<sup>27</sup> two packers Elwyn Bean and a man known only as Reynolds, and two colored cooks not known by name.

The nine Helena men were furnished with one saddle horse apiece and nine pack horses for their whole outfit. They also carried one aneroid barometer, one thermometer, and several pocket compasses in order to make scientific observations. The military detachment was supplied with two extra saddle horses and five pack mules for the transportation of supplies. For the accommodation of the whole party, a large pavilion tent was carried along with forty days' rations and an abundant supply of ammunition.<sup>28</sup>

On August 22, 1870, the expedition left Fort Ellis, crossed the divide between the Gallatin and the Yellowstone Rivers, and upon reaching Trail Creek, a tributary of the Yellowstone, camped for the night. The following day the party traveled down Trail Creek to the Yellowstone Valley and ascended the river for approximately eight miles. That evening they camped at Boteler's Ranch. On August 24 and 25, the expedition continued to ascend the Yellowstone past the first and second canyons of that river, observed the "Devil's Slide"<sup>29</sup> and "Cinnabar Mountain"<sup>30</sup> on the way, and camped at the mouth of the Gardiner River where it flows into the Yellowstone near the present northern boundary of Yellowstone National Park.

<sup>22</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 60-61.

<sup>23</sup> Cornelius Hedges, "Journal of Cornelius Hedges," *Montana Historical Society Contributions*, V (1904), 372.

<sup>24</sup> Gustavus C. Doane, "Yellowstone Expedition of 1870," Letter to the Secretary of War, *Senate Executive Document* 51, 41 Con., 3 Sess., 1870-71, p. i.

<sup>25</sup> Burlingame, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 59.

<sup>27</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>29</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 73.

<sup>30</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 5.



The expedition entered the area of the present Park on August 26. Lieutenant Doane, Mr. Everts, and Private Williamson rode ahead of the main party across the plateau between the Gardiner River and Tower Creek, camping on the latter stream that evening.<sup>31</sup>

The rest of the group, slowly following Doane and his associates, camped on Antelope Creek (probably the creek today known as Elk Creek) on the night of August 26, and after having crossed Lost Creek on the following day joined the advance party at Tower Creek.<sup>32</sup> The combined groups remained two days examining the Tower Falls and Canyon and the hot spring formations found in the vicinity. The graphic descriptive quality of Lieutenant Doane's diary is shown by his statements concerning this locality.

On Sunday afternoon, August 28, while the remainder of the group were at Tower Falls, General Washburn rode out to make a reconnaissance for the route south to Yellowstone Lake. From the summit of a peak, named Mount Washburn by the party, he viewed Yellowstone Lake and reported the fact to his companions. On the 29th, the entire party resumed the march south over the east flank of Mount Washburn. Several members of the party, including Hauser, Gillette, Stickney, Trumbull, Langford, and Doane, ascended the mountain<sup>33</sup> and from its summit looked around the vast area now included within

In 1882, Huffman recorded the breath taking view of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone with cumbersome apparatus, but with real artistry.

Yellowstone Park. Doane stated in his diary that the view was beyond adequate description, but proceeded to give a most excellent description. He declared that the group "was more than satisfied with the opening up of the campaign."<sup>34</sup>

The pack train continued its march along the eastern slope of the mountain and camped on a small stream running into the Yellowstone. That evening Doane, who had returned from the mountain excursion, went out with Hedges and Washburn to see if they could reach the Yellowstone River, and, in the attempt, discovered a number of mud springs. The three men finally reached the brink of the Yellowstone Grand Canyon, but darkness prevented further observations.<sup>35</sup>

On August 30, the party continued southward over the rolling country to Cascade Creek where they camped near Crystal Falls. Both of these features were named by Hedges.<sup>36</sup> Camp had been made in the early afternoon and the remainder of this day and the day following were spent in observing the Grand Canyon and in measuring the height of the Upper and Lower Falls. Long descriptive passages in the diaries of the members of the expedition prove that they were favorably impressed with the incomparable scenery of the region.

The exploring party left the two falls of the Yellowstone on the first of September and observed many strange phenomena as they ascended the stream which was quite calm above the falls. The group passed Sulphur Mountain. Doane was particularly impressed with the mud springs of the vicinity and for that reason the expedition camped for the evening. The general region proved so interesting to the explorers that they decided to spend September 2 exploring. On that day the members of the party were astounded at the sight of Mud Volcano, a now extinct

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>32</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 74-75.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>34</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 11.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>36</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 97.



Another artist who did justice to the beauties of Yellowstone was Thomas Moran, of the Hayden Survey Party. This fine watercolor of Yellowstone Lake was painted in 1874.

feature of the Park region. Langford wrote that:

While surveying these wonders, our ears were constantly saluted by dull, thundering, booming sounds, resembling the reports of distant artillery. As we approached the spot whence it proceeded, the ground beneath us shook and trembled as from successive shocks of an earthquake. Ascending a small hillcock, the cause of the uproar was found to be a mud volcano—the greatest marvel we have yet met with. . . . Dense masses of steam issue with explosive force from this crater. . . . The explosions are not uniform in force or time, varying from three to eight seconds, and occasionally with perfect regularity occurring every five seconds. . . . The green leaves and the limbs of the surrounding forest trees are covered with fresh clay or mud, as is also the newly grown grass for a distance of 180 feet from the crater.<sup>37</sup>

From Mud Volcano the expedition moved up the Yellowstone Valley about four miles and camped for the night.

The forenoon of September 3 was spent in crossing the Yellowstone to the east bank of the river. By nightfall the main party had reached the lake at a point two

miles east of the river outlet. Washburn and Langford had remained behind the main party in order to re-examine the weird region around the Mud Volcano and springs, but upon arriving at the camp, Langford wrote, "Yellowstone Lake, as seen from our camp tonight, seems to me to be the most beautiful body of water in the world."<sup>38</sup>

Lieutenant Doane had been suffering agonies for several days from an obstinate felon,<sup>39</sup> and his suffering by this time had become so acute and excruciating that relief had to come in some way. While encamped on the Lake shore the night of September 3, Langford performed a crude surgical operation with his penknife.<sup>40</sup> Doane had been nine days and nights without sleep, and he now slept continuously for thirty-six hours.

On September 5, the group had traveled along the shore of the Lake in a southeasterly direction for about six miles, when they were forced to leave the shore and follow the pine ridges for another nine miles before camping. Around the campfire that evening a conference was held to decide whether to continue the

<sup>37</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 103-4.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>39</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 8 and 19.

<sup>40</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 111.



journey around the Lake or to retrace their steps to the north side of the Lake and from there cross over the mountains to the Madison River. Six of the nine, including Langford, favored going around the Lake;<sup>41</sup> Hauser and Smith<sup>42</sup> wished to return to the northern shore. The majority opinion prevailed and the explorers resolved to be the first to travel around the Lake. This was also to be the beginning of their physical suffering.

The next morning the expedition continued south for ten miles along the eastern shore of the Lake, and after having struggled through fallen timber all day encamped in a tangled woods that Hedges said was the "poorest camp we have had."<sup>43</sup>

While the party was encamped on the eastern shore of the Lake, Lieutenant Doane and N. P. Langford with great exertion and difficulty climbed the peaks of the Absaroka Range in order to get some idea of the country and to lay out a route of travel around the Lake. From the summit Langford sketched an excellent outline of the Lake. Two peaks of the Absarokas have been named for Doane and Langford, although neither is the peak which they scaled on September 7, 1870.

The main party had spent September 7 rounding the southeastern arm of Yellowstone Lake, crossing the stream which they called the "Upper Yellowstone," and making camp on the opposite side of the arm from the previous day's encampment. Langford and Doane, after great difficulty, reached the camp that night.

The route of travel on September 8 was perhaps the most discouraging of the entire trip. Doane stated that "faces were scratched, clothes torn, and limbs bruised squeezing through the saplings."<sup>44</sup> "This has been a terrible day for both men and horses,"<sup>45</sup> wrote Langford. The main party had moved westward for some twelve miles in a zig-zag fashion over fallen timber, and that evening camped on the southernmost arm of the Lake seven miles west of the previous camp. To make matters worse, Hedges and Stickney wandered off from the party early in the morning and were thought to be lost.

Moreover, Hedges reported that at one time during this day he had become lost from his traveling companion, Stickney, and was without matches and ammunition.<sup>46</sup> Upon their return to camp that night, there was disputing and wrangling over the day's failure, and Langford wrote:

I growled at Hauser and scolded him a little in camp tonight because of some exasperating action of his. I here record the fact without going into details. I think that I must try to be more patient. But I am feeling somewhat the fatigue of the journey.<sup>47</sup>

On September 9, the exploring party moved in a westerly course over the Continental Divide, and crossed a small creek between two arms of the Lake (Surprise Creek). Both Langford and Doane realized that they had crossed the Divide, were on its western slope, and that this stream flowed into a tributary of the Snake. Doane stated that "five miles below it emptied into a stream flowing from a heart shaped lake five miles in diameter" (Heart Lake).<sup>48</sup> Although they had traveled six miles during the day, Langford thought their camp was not more than three miles from the previous stop. The most important event of the day was the loss of Mr. Everts, who strayed out of sight of his comrades in the dense growth of pine forest and fallen timber in this region south of the Lake.<sup>49</sup> This occurrence not only interfered with the progress of the expedition, but it changed an enjoyable exploration into a frantic and sad search.

Two searching parties were sent out on September 10 to look for Everts. Gillette and Trumbull returned along the lake shore route; Langford and Hedges ascended a high peak near the camp to build a signal fire and observe the country. The

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>42</sup> Cornelius Hedges, *loc. cit.*, 385.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> P. 21.

<sup>45</sup> P. 127.

<sup>46</sup> Hedges, *loc. cit.*, 385.

<sup>47</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 132.

<sup>48</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 22.

<sup>49</sup> This date marks the beginning of Everts' "Thirty-Seven Days of Peril."

Fascinated by the magic of the Upper Geyser Basin, Huffman in the 1880's did this imaginative study of Giant Geyser as viewed from near Old Faithful—a remarkable photograph.



main party traveled seven miles in a northwesterly direction, camping at night on the Flat Mountain Arm of the Lake.<sup>50</sup>

On September 11, the whole party traveled to the western arm of Yellowstone Lake (The Thumb) and camped on the east side of the arm some three miles from its southern extremity. They remained encamped here during September 12-15, searching constantly for Everts. Three searching parties were sent out on September 12. Smith and Trumbull returned along the lake shore until they came in sight of the previous camp; Hauser and Gillette returned upon the party's trail through the woods; Washburn and Langford traveled south for twelve miles.<sup>51</sup> None of these groups saw any trace of the lost man. The following morning the weather grew very disagreeable, alternating with rain, hail, and snow.<sup>52</sup> The entire day of September 14 was spent in the pavilion tent as the continually falling snow was now almost two feet deep. On September 15, the storm abated somewhat, but the snow was still so deep that the group had to give up the idea of moving.

The entire party was able to move around to the west shore of the Thumb on September 16, and they made camp in the vicinity of the hot springs. On September 17, the group decided to resume

their journey homeward. So keen was their continued anxiety over Everts that Gillette was left behind the main party with Privates Moore and Williamson. Provided with ten days' rations, they were to resume their search, returning home by whatever route they chose.

The main expedition moved rapidly toward the northwest through timbered country and crossed the Continental Divide twice before camping that evening on a branch of the Firehole River. The second time the party crossed the Divide, Shoshone Lake was seen toward the south. The topography was so confusing that Lieutenant Doane erroneously thought the Lake to be the head of the Firehole River.<sup>53</sup> All the party did not agree with this as is shown by Langford's comment that:

Hauser and I feel sure that this large lake is the head of the Snake River. . . . As we passed the large lake on our left today, I observed that there was no ridge of land between us and the lake; therefore I believe that it is the Snake River valley, and that we have today twice crossed the main range of the Rocky Mountains.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 138.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>52</sup> Hedges, *loc. cit.*, 367.

<sup>53</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 27.

<sup>54</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 163.

On the morning of September 18, the party soon reached the Firehole just above Kepler's Cascade, continued down that stream, and thus were the first explorers to stumble into the Upper Geyser Basin, the heart of geyserland. Upon seeing the first geyser in action, the astonished explorers "spurred their jaded horses," and "gathered about the wonderful phenomenon."<sup>55</sup> Although the members of the expedition remained in the Upper Basin only the afternoon of the eighteenth and the following morning, they saw in action and named seven of the outstanding geysers.<sup>56</sup> Lieutenant Doane gave an excellent description of the geysers of the region which concluded with the remark:

I have now described seven of the largest geysers seen in the Firehole Basin, and the description falls far short of the reality. To do justice to the subject would require a volume. The geysers of Iceland sink into insignificance beside them.<sup>57</sup>

The men traveled rapidly down the eastern bank of the Firehole River on the afternoon of September 19 and stopped only briefly to examine natural phenomena close to the river. Langford was interested in the hot water springs and wrote in his diary:

The water in some of the springs presents to the eye the colors of all the precious gems known to commerce. In one spring the hue is like that of an emerald, in another like that of the turquoise, another has the ultramarine hue of the sapphire, another has the color of the topaz; and the suggestion has been made that the names of these jewels may very properly be given to many of these springs.<sup>58</sup>

By nightfall the group reached the junction of the Gibbon and the Firehole Rivers, tributaries of the Madison. Supplies

had been running low for several days and there was great anxiety over the loss of Everts. Many of the men felt that their business in the Montana settlements needed their personal attention, and some had a greater desire to tell of the wonders they had seen rather than try to discover more. For the majority the exploring party had accomplished its purpose. Around the campfire on the evening of September 19 a discussion was held which shortly resulted in the creation of the first national park.<sup>59</sup>

The party forded the Madison twice on the morning of September 20, and then traveled down its right bank in a westerly direction for about eight miles. The next day the expedition continued down the narrow valley for eight miles until they finally entered the narrow, crooked canyon of the Madison, which they followed for another ten miles before camping.

Langford, the first to leave the party, departed for Virginia City on September 22,<sup>60</sup> and arrived in Helena on September 25. The main party traveled thirty-eight miles on September 22, and camped on the Madison River within sight of the upper settlements of that stream. On the following day they continued down the river in a northerly direction, crossing over to the west bank nine miles north of Virginia City, and thus struck the road to Sterling.

Just south of Sterling, Lieutenant Doane, Sergeant Baker, and Privates McConnell and Leitner left the Helena citizens in order to return to Fort Ellis. The four soldiers traveled thirty-five miles eastward on September 24, arriving at the fort that night. Privates Moore and Williamson returned on October 2.<sup>61</sup>

On the morning of September 24, Washburn, Hauser, Stickney, and Trumbull started out for Helena at a more rapid pace, leaving Hedges and Smith behind to come in with the pack train.<sup>62</sup> Two days later the pack train was within twenty miles of Helena, and all returned home by September 27, forty-two days after their departure on August 17, 1870.

The loss of Truman C. Everts has become the most noted incident in the early history of the Park region. Everts was

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>56</sup> The seven geysers described and named were "Old Faithful," "The Fan," "The Grotto," "The Castle," "The Giant," "The Bee Hive," and "The Giantess."

<sup>57</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 32.

<sup>58</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 176.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-80.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 181-82.

<sup>61</sup> Doane, *loc. cit.*, 36-37.



somewhat older than the other members of this group, for he was fifty-four at the time of the exploration while the other members were all in their thirties. Before he had been away from Fort Ellis for twenty-four hours he was taken sick from overeating,<sup>63</sup> and the entire march of the party was delayed. On August 24, Langford recorded, "Mr. Everts was not well enough to accompany us, and it was arranged that he should remain at Boteler's ranch and that we would move about twelve miles up the river, and there await his arrival."<sup>64</sup>

It was on September 9, when the main party had camped at the headwaters of Surprise Creek south of Yellowstone Lake, that Everts was lost. The next day he left his horse unhitched, apparently not even throwing the bridle over its head, and the animal ran away carrying on its back blankets, guns, pistol, fishing tackle, and matches. Two days later Everts made the first of two discoveries which were the means of saving his life. He found a thistle that had a root like a radish, and it proved to be nourishing food. Overjoyed at this discovery, he ate his first meal in three days, and realized that he could not starve as long as he could find these thistles. His second discovery was the realization that the sun could be utilized to kindle a fire by the use of the opera glass lense which he had in his pocket. Until he lost his lens, he was able to build several fires which provided warmth along the route of travel.

Soon the weather became inclement with alternating snow, hail, and rain. Everts, who had been on foot since the loss of his horse, was unable to pick up the trail of the main party and his suffering increased each day. Strange visions came to him and he apparently lost all sense of time.<sup>65</sup>

As soon as the exploring expedition of which he had been a member arrived at the Montana settlements, plans were made for a careful search for Everts. It was agreed, however, that no one should leave until a report was received from Warren C. Gillette and the two soldiers left behind for this purpose. The *Helena Herald* on

October 3 announced the return of these men and reported that they had seen no trace of Everts. After a long account of Gillette's experiences, as told to a reporter, the article continued:

Mr. Gillette thinks he [Everts] probably perished during the storm that prevailed on the fourth and fifth days after he was lost, rather than that he met his death at the hands of road agents or Indians. Messrs. Hauser and Langford, on the other hand, think it more probable that he had been shot by horse thieves or Indians—Mr. Hauser favoring the former idea, and Mr. Langford the latter.

In the *Herald* of October 6, Judge Lawrence offered a reward of \$600 for the recovery of Everts. It appears from a note of thanks later written to Judge Lawrence by Everts that, although the Judge took the lead, other contributed to this fund.<sup>66</sup> Everts' friends had thus made a financial contribution to a final desperate effort to rescue him. This award served as an incentive and among those who went out were George A. Pritchett and Jack Baronette, well-known mountain trappers and scouts. These men came upon Everts just in time to save him from death. Pritchett started for Fort Ellis immediately to obtain an ambulance and medicine; Baronette made camp on the spot and administered to Everts' most pressing needs. Two days later Baronette and Everts traveled to a miner's cabin twenty miles away. A few days later an ambulance carried Everts to Bozeman, where he rested before returning to Helena.

The *Helena Daily Herald* announced on October 21 that, "The Lost Is Found—Hon. T. C. Everts, of the Yellowstone Expedition, who was lost on the eight of September. Discovered near the south of Bear Gulch—He was in a Famishing Condition and Unable to Move—His Recovery Probable." The announcement was fol-

<sup>63</sup> Hedges, *loc. cit.*, 393.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 372.

<sup>65</sup> Langford, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>66</sup> Everts wrote a long account of his experience for *Scribner's Monthly* of November, 1871, entitled "Thirty-Seven Days of Peril."



Two of the Park's great documentarians participated in this remarkable photo of spectacular Mammoth Hot Spring Terraces, in 1871. Famed W. H. Jackson posed gifted Thomas Moran, the artist, for this valuable early photograph.

lowed by a letter from George Pritchett which said:

We have found Mr. Everts. He is alive and safe, but very low in flesh. It seems difficult to realize the fact that he lived, but nevertheless it is so. . . .

We found him on the 16th inst., on the summit of the first big mountain beyond Warm Springs Creek, about seventy-five miles from this fort. . . . During his wanderings he saw no human being, neither whites nor Indians, until we found him.

In the same article of the *Herald* reporter S. W. Langhorne stated that Everts' condition was most unfavorable.

The local populace was particularly interested in this rescue, and in an attempt to satisfy public demand, the *Herald* published a longer article on October 26, under the heading, "The Finding of Hon. T. C. Everts—His wanderings, hardships, and sufferings—Full of Reliable Particulars."

Everts returned to Helena on November 5, and the files of the *Herald* reveal that the members of the expedition entertained him with a mid-afternoon "banquet" at the "Kan-Kan" exactly one week later.<sup>67</sup> The public was not denied any of the details since on November 14 the *Herald* gave a full account of what it terms "The Yellowstone Banquet" in honor of Mr. Everts. All members of the party were

present with the exception of Lieutenant Doane, and the press was represented by Major Maginnis for the *Gazette* (later delegate to Congress) and Captain R. E. Fisk for the *Herald*.

Although the loss of Everts, which had been termed the "greatest tragedy in the history of Park," caused a great deal of distress and inconvenience to the members of the Yellowstone expedition, it added greatly to the public interest in the exploration. The news of Everts' loss was sent all over the United States, as was his eventual return, doing much to advertise the Yellowstone region throughout the country. In response to this national interest, the editor of *Scribner's Monthly* asked Everts to prepare an account of his wanderings for that magazine. This account was published as the first article in the November, 1871, issue of the magazine<sup>68</sup> and was later reprinted in the fifth volume of the *Montana Historical Society Contributions*.

The Montana newspapers made a significant contribution to Yellowstone history by publishing many reports after the return of this 1870 expedition. Even before the party returned to Helena, the newspapers of that mining community had reports of its arrival in the Montana settlements. The *Helena Herald* of September 23 printed that:

We are in receipt, this afternoon, of a dispatch from Virginia City, dated 23rd, announcing the arrival there of N. P. Langford of the Yellowstone Expedition. . . .

Just before going to press the following special dispatch to the Herald was received:

Virginia City, September 23  
General H. D. Washburn, commander of the Yellowstone Expedition with his party camped on the Madison, opposite Virginia City, last night, and will be in Helena, next Monday. . . . The party made accurate maps of the lake and river.

These same dispatches were printed the next day with long introductions in the *Rocky Mountain Gazette* under the heading: "Return of the Yellowstone Party."<sup>69</sup>

The *Herald* of September 28 devoted the right-hand column of page one to the first published report of the Washburn Expedition under the heading: "The Yellowstone Expedition—Interesting Data of the Trip, from the Notes Furnished by Hon. N. P. Langford." It was announced that Langford intended to prepare a detailed report of "this most interesting portion of the country where in a space so circumscribed are presented at once the wonders of Iceland, Italy, and South America."

The next day the *Herald* published a two-column article signed by H. D. Washburn. A second installment by Washburn which included the story of the naming of "Old Faithful" and other geysers appeared in the *Herald* of September 28. The *Gazette* also continued its Yellowstone articles.

The following announcement on the front page of the *Herald* is a testimonial to the keen local interest in these descriptive accounts of exploration:

The Yellowstone Expedition—Unprecedented Demand for the Herald

Having entirely exhausted the extra editions of both the *Daily* and *Weekly Herald*, containing the admirable reports of Gen. H. D. Washburn and Hon. N. P. Langford, of the Yellowstone expedition, who have made their special and

invaluable contributions to our columns, we to-day reproduced the articles of both these gentlemen and print a large number extra of the paper to supply the partial demand. Copies of the daily containing both reports in full can be had of Stickney or Ward or at the Herald counting room.<sup>70</sup>

Numerous articles followed. In the *Herald* for October 6 appeared a full-column letter by Cornelius Hedges on Mount Everts, its climb and its naming. Hedges followed this on October 15 with an article, "The Great Falls of the Yellowstone—a Graphic Picture of Their Grandeur and Beauty;" on October 19, "Hell Broth Springs;" on October 24, "Sulphur Mountain and Mud Volcano;" and on November 9, "Yellowstone Lake."<sup>71</sup>

These interesting accounts by the observers of the Yellowstone country were copied by the press of the nation and apparently attracted a great interest. The *Herald* pointed out that:

Our exchanges, East and West, are just reaching us, containing copious extracts from the *Herald's* Yellowstone reports. These contribution from our corps of correspondents have proved, as we rightly predicted, of unusual interest, not alone to Montanans but to the reading public throughout the country. The *Herald* is everywhere complimented for the enterprise it has exhibited.<sup>72</sup>

Of the nineteen men who participated in the Yellowstone Expedition of 1870, only four kept journals of what was destined to become a historic exploration. These were Lieutenant Doane, Mr. Langford, Judge Hedges, and General Washburn.

The daily account of Lieutenant Doane is perhaps the most readable account of the trip and the most satisfactory for the general reader. It is outstanding because

<sup>69</sup> *Helena Herald*, October 23, 1870.

<sup>70</sup> *Helena Herald*, November 12, 1870.

<sup>71</sup> Before *Scribner's Monthly* was taken over by the *Century Magazine*.

<sup>72</sup> *Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Helena, Montana, September 24, 1870.

<sup>73</sup> *Helena Herald*, September 30, 1870.

<sup>74</sup> Files of the *Helena Herald* in the Montana State Historical Society Library.

<sup>75</sup> *Helena Herald*, October 21, 1870.





Time has not dealt kindly to this glass plate photo by W. H. Jackson. Nevertheless it is a splendid documentation of the Hayden Party, on the march in the Yellowstone wilderness in 1871.

of its accuracy and conciseness. Lieutenant Doane submitted his report under date of December 15, 1870, to General Winfield S. Hancock. It was, in turn, transmitted to General Sherman, to the Secretary of War, and to the Senate, which ordered it printed. Dr. F. V. Hayden, leader of the first government exploration of the Yellowstone in 1871, referred to "the remarkable report of the young officer, which he seems to have written under the inspiration of the wonderful physical phenomena around him," and stated further "that for graphic descriptions and thrilling interest it has not been surpassed by any official report made to our Government since the time of Lewis and Clark."<sup>73</sup> The report written by Doane was the first official report upon the country now included within Yellowstone National Park.

The journal of Judge Hedges, not nearly so exhaustive as that of Lieutenant Doane, was written for private use without the least expectation of its publication. From the notes of this journal, Hedges had obtained much of the material for his descriptive articles published in the *Helena Herald*. At the time of its publication, he wrote:

The only justification for publishing the foregoing diary is in the fact that the entries were made each day of the trip and thus provide a more faithful record of the experiences than could be furnished from the memory of any one member of the party. It was never intended for the public eye and this must excuse the intrusion of personality.<sup>74</sup>

When Hedges' journal appeared, Langford wrote to him:

St. Paul, Feb. 26, 1905

Dear Hedges:

. . . I received last week Vol. 5 of the Montana Historical Society Publications, and was delighted to find in it a copy of your diary of the "Washburn Expedition" of 1870. It must have been a bird in the air" that inspired the thought in both you and me at the same time, for I had the copy of my diary well under way. . . .

I have made a few photographic copies of illustrations, which I have scattered throughout the pages. The old book had been lost to my sight for near 30 years, and when the idea of "putting it into shape" first occurred to me, I hardly knew where to look for it, but I finally found it in a trunk of old papers. . . .

Very Truly your friend,

N. P. Langford<sup>75</sup>

The diary of Langford is by far the most complete historical record of the exploration, and like Doane's report is a masterpiece of descriptive narrative. If any single member of the party could be accorded the title of diarist or historian of the expedition, the honor would unquestionably be given to Langford. His diary, which was first published in 1905, should form a part of the library of every individual interested in the geography and exploration of the United States. He wrote to Cornelius Hedges shortly after the account was published:

My dear Hedges:

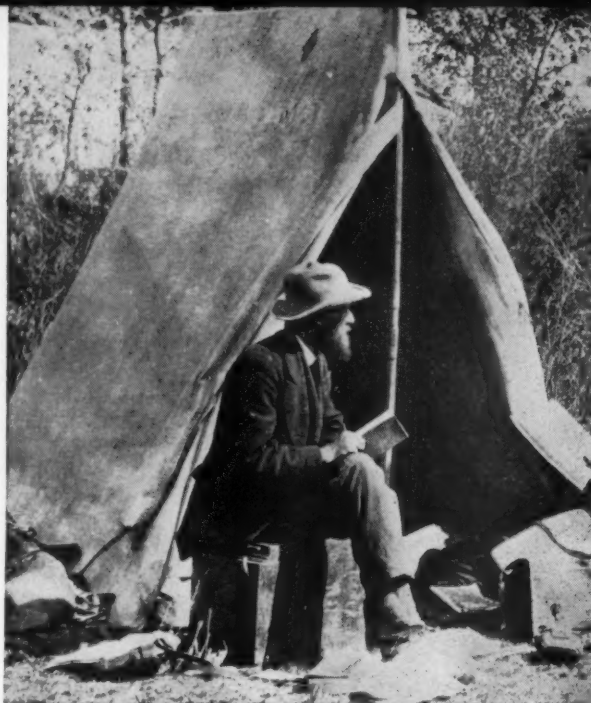
Your letter of Nov. 19th is before me, and I am pleased to know that you enjoyed my diary. . . . You ask about additional copies, and the price. If we sell the book for \$1, I can quote you that figure with 10% discount. You want three additional copies but I think that you would better take 4 while you are about it. So I send the latter number by express, the Express Company dead-heading the package for an old-timer. The bill runs as follows:—In other words, take them with my love: for no man is more entitled to them than you, *who first proposed the creation of the Park.* . . .

Very truly yours,

N. P. Langford.<sup>76</sup>

The fourth and last journal of the exploration was that of General Washburn. It was a concise set of notes dealing very meagerly with the details of the trip. He had recorded these for the purpose of making a fuller official report later, and, if he had lived, in all probability would have included a discussion of his Yellowstone Expedition in his annual Surveyor-General's report for the fiscal year 1871. The Washburn Diary was never published, and the members of the family have been unable to locate the manuscript,<sup>77</sup> which was probably destroyed by fire.<sup>78</sup>

The Washburn-Doane Expedition into the Upper Yellowstone was unquestionably the most significant of all Yellowstone exploration either before or after the creation of the National Park. It marked the end of misinformation or lack of definite information which had existed among the early trappers and the prospectors of the Montana settlements. Not only had the members of the expedition carefully observed the unusual natural phenomena of the region, but they had made a noteworthy contribution to its exploration. The party was the first to encircle Yellowstone Lake and in so doing crossed some of the most difficult terrain of the region. They were, moreover, the first purposeful explorers to observe the geysers of the Upper Basin.



W. H. Jackson made this interesting study of the venerable Dr. F. V. Hayden, the brilliant geologist whose important governmental survey and later publicity were so vital to the creation of the Park.

Because of their position, these men were able to have the story of their findings published in numerous newspapers and magazines and in this way not only directed the attention of Montana citizens to the region but also aroused national interest.

The results of this expedition were so far-reaching that the exploration has been spoken of as the "Discovery of Yellowstone National Park." Within a period of two years the Montana citizens who had participated brought about official government exploration which led to the creation of the first national park in the United States.

#### [THE END]

<sup>76</sup> F. V. Hayden, *Preliminary Report of the United States Geological Survey of Montana and Adjacent Territories being a Fifth Annual Report of Progress* (Washington, 1872).

<sup>77</sup> Hedges, *loc. cit.*, 370, footnote.

<sup>78</sup> Langford to Hedges. Original MS. in the archives of the Montana State Historical Society Library.

<sup>79</sup> Langford to Hedges, November 24, 1905. Original in Montana State Historical Society Library. *Italics mine.*

<sup>80</sup> Interview between Robert Washburn of El Paso, Texas, and the author.

<sup>81</sup> Zana B. Scaff to the author, August 2, 1938.

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Considering that this was the Nation's first, it is quite remarkable that four expeditions and a limited amount of public and private effort were so effective in



Members of the Hayden Geological Survey Party during the summer of 1871 were a picturesque lot, some were almost formal in their attire, such as Dr. Hayden, seated center, in the bowler hat with his necktied associate. The unknown crew member, right, was undoubtedly the first sport-shirt enthusiast to see the wonderland.

# THE CREATION OF YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

By W. Turrentine Jackson



THE AREA included within Yellowstone National Park was one of the last regions in the United States to be explored scientifically. Not until 1869 was the importance of the Yellowstone country realized. In September and October of that year three Montana men, Charles Cook, David Folsom, and William Peterson, made the first purposeful exploration in the region.<sup>1</sup> During August and September of the following year a group of nineteen individuals, including some of the foremost citizens in the Montana territory and a military escort of six men, made a more extensive observation of the unique geysers, hot springs, and waterfalls.<sup>2</sup> The reports of this 1870 expedition, known as the Washburn-Doane expedition, led directly to the governmental exploration of the upper Yellowstone during the summer of 1871. Ferdinand V. Hayden, director of the United States Geological Survey of the western territories, was sent to the region by the Department of the Interior.<sup>3</sup> The War Department sponsored a simultaneous exploration of the area by an expedition under the command of Captain J. W. Barlow, Corps of Engineers.<sup>4</sup> The leaders of both of these governmental explorations of 1871 made careful reports to their superiors, and these reports were considered worthy of publication.

At the close of each of the early Yellowstone expeditions the foremost question in the minds of the explorers was the proper disposition of this unique portion of the national domain. The idea of establishing a national park in the area was the result of an evolutionary process in the thinking of a group of Montana citizens between 1869 and 1872.

The first suggestion of some type of governmental reserve was made by the members of the Cook-Folsom expedition of 1869. On the night of October 1, when the three members of this exploration were in camp on the banks of the Firehole River, William Peterson remarked that "it would not be long before settlers and prospectors began coming into the district and taking up the land around the geysers and canyons." Charles Cook was of the opinion that something should be done to keep the settlers out so that people might travel freely through the region and enjoy it. David Folsom added the opinion that "the government should not allow anyone to locate" in the vicinity. In spite of the fact that Cook realized that the region should be kept for the public, he later admitted:

None of us definitely suggested the idea of a national park. National parks were unknown then. But we knew that as soon as the wonderful character of the country was generally known outside, there would be plenty of people hurrying in to get possession unless something were done.

We all had this thought in mind when we came out a few days later and told others what we had seen.<sup>5</sup>

Upon his return to Helena, David Folsom discussed the problem of preserving the natural phenomena of the Yellowstone region with General H. D. Washburn, Montana's Surveyor-General. General Washburn told Nathaniel P. Langford, member of the 1870 expedition, of these discussions and asked his opinion on the subject.<sup>6</sup> Folsom, furthermore, stated on many occasions that the original manuscript which he and Cook sent to the *Western Monthly* telling of the exploration of 1869 contained a suggestion of some form of governmental reserve, and Hiram M. Chittenden confirmed this statement by saying, "In the manuscript of his (Folsom's) article in the *Western Monthly* was a reference to the

<sup>1</sup> W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Cook-Folsom Exploration of the Upper Yellowstone, 1869," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (Seattle), XXXII, 1941, pp. 307-322.

<sup>2</sup> W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Washburn-Doane Expedition into the Upper Yellowstone, 1870," *Pacific Historical Review* (Los Angeles), X, 1941, pp. 189-208.

<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand V. Hayden, *Preliminary Report of the United States Geological Survey of Montana and Portions of Adjacent Territories; Being a Fifth Annual Report of Progress* (Washington, 1872). Cited hereafter as *Preliminary Report*.

<sup>4</sup> *Senate Executive Documents*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 1870-71, II, no. 66.

<sup>5</sup> C. W. Cook, "Remarks of C. W. Cook, Last Survivor of the Original Explorers of the Yellowstone Park Region, during the Celebration of the Park's Golden Anniversary, 1922," MS. in Yellowstone Park Library, Mammoth Springs, Wyoming.

<sup>6</sup> Nathaniel P. Langford, Preface to "The Folsom-Cook Exploration of the Upper Yellowstone in the Year 1869," *Historical Society of Montana, Contributions* (Helena), V, 1904, p. 351.

Park idea; but the publishers cut out a large part of his paper, giving only the descriptions of the natural wonders, and this reference was cut out with the rest."<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, Charles Cook was unable to recall whether such a proposal was included in the account of the exploration prepared jointly by him and Folsom,<sup>8</sup> and N. P. Langford stated that he could not find any published statement of Folsom's views on the subject.<sup>9</sup>

A more definite proposal for the disposition of the unique natural phenomena found in the upper Yellowstone came from the members of the Washburn-Doane expedition. According to Langford, an "unusual discussion" was held by these explorers around a campfire at the junction of the Firehole and Gibbon Rivers during the evening of September 19, 1870. One member of the expedition introduced the subject of the disposition of the area by suggesting that each of the explorers should take up a quarter section of land around the most significant points of interest and charge all visitors a fee. Another member was certain that he could make money if he could pre-empt two or three sections of land along the Grand Canyon between the Upper and Lower Falls of the Yellowstone. A third explorer proposed that he be allowed to take up a section in the Upper Geyser Basin, since that locality could be more easily reached by tourists and pleasure seekers. It was generally agreed that a fairer disposition of the region would result if each member would pre-empt a claim, deposit in a pool the income from his particular section, and distribute the total proceeds for the benefit of all of the explorers.<sup>10</sup>

At this point in the discussion Cornelius Hedges, a member of the expedition, interrupted the conversation to propose a plan which marked him as one of the farsighted men of his generation. Hedges did not approve of any of these plans. He thought there should be "no private ownership of any portion of that region, but that the whole of it ought to be set apart as a great National Park."<sup>11</sup> With the exception of one member, the explorers immediately accepted the proposal and it became one

of the chief subjects of discussion during the remaining period of the exploration. Langford recorded in his diary: "I lay awake half of last night thinking about it;—and if my wakefulness deprived my bed-fellow (Hedges) of any sleep, he has only himself and his disturbing National Park proposition to answer for it."<sup>12</sup>

Langford realized that it would not be an easy task to secure the creation of a national park, but on the evening of the proposal he resolved to pursue the project with unexampled enthusiasm:

Our purpose to create a park can only be accomplished by untiring work and concerted action in a warfare against incredulity and unbelief of our National legislators when our proposal shall be presented for their approval. Nevertheless, I believe we can win the battle.<sup>13</sup>

In 1904, when Cornelius Hedges published his diary, he very modestly added a note in which he said, "It was at the first camp after leaving the lower Geyser basin when all were speculating which point in the region we had been through, would become most notable that I first suggested the uniting all our efforts to get it made a National Park, little dreaming that such a thing were possible."<sup>14</sup>

Neither in the official report of Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane,<sup>15</sup> who had commanded the military escort for this 1870 exploration, nor in the original diary of Cornelius Hedges is there any reference to the suggestion of the national park idea. There is also no suggestion of a reserve in this area in the accounts published by Langford and Walter Trumbull, another member of the expedition, in *Scribner's* and

<sup>7</sup> Hiram M. Chittenden, *Yellowstone National Park* (Cincinnati, 1895), 90-91, n.

<sup>8</sup> Oscar O. Mueller to the author, May 13, 1938. Mueller is the son-in-law of C. W. Cook.

<sup>9</sup> Langford, Preface to "The Folsom-Cook Exploration of the Upper Yellowstone," *loc. cit.*, 351.

<sup>10</sup> Nathaniel P. Langford, *The Discovery of Yellowstone Park, 1870* (Saint Paul, 1905), 179.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-180.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Cornelius Hedges, "Journal of Judge Cornelius Hedges," Historical Society of Montana, *Contributions*, V, 1904, p. 372.

<sup>15</sup> Gustavus C. Doane, "Yellowstone Expedition of 1870," Report to the Secretary of War, *Senate Executive Documents*, 41 Cong., 3 Sess., 1870-71, I, no. 51.

the *Overland Monthly*, in May and June, 1871.

Although the national park idea was not extensively discussed before the close of 1870, it is obvious that at least three men, David Folsom, N. P. Langford, and Cornelius Hedges, were seriously considering it. Langford wrote, "No person can divide with Cornelius Hedges and David E. Folsom the honor of *originating the idea of creating the Yellowstone Park*,"<sup>16</sup> and in sending several copies of his printed diary to Hedges he said, "no man is more entitled to them than you, who first proposed the creation of the Park."<sup>17</sup>

As soon as the Washburn-Doane party returned to Helena, a movement began to mold the national park idea into law, and for two years interest in the project was not allowed to lag. The first public suggestion occurred in an article by Cornelius Hedges published in the *Helena Herald* on November 9, 1870. After describing the region around Yellowstone Lake, Hedges emphasized the advisability of readjusting territorial lines so that Montana Territory should include all the lake region west of the Wind River Mountains. He urged the citizens of Montana to work for the accomplishment of this proposal and for the appropriation to public use of the entire area.<sup>18</sup> Langford made a significant contribution by preparing a series of lectures in which he described the most important physical features and phenomena of the upper Yellowstone. In his speeches in Helena, Washington, and New York during the period from November, 1870, to January, 1871, he referred to the importance of setting this area aside as a national reserve.<sup>19</sup>

Langford's enthusiastic lectures aroused the interest of F. V. Hayden, who agreed to conduct the governmental geological survey through the Yellowstone region in the summer of 1871. Hayden was not at first in favor of the proposal for setting the area apart as a national reserve. During the field season of 1871, when the idea of making a park out of the upper Yellowstone region was advocated among his own men, Dr. Hayden did not believe in the plan; but further reflection upon the

subject and discussions with others finally convinced him that it was advisable, and he promoted the idea with enthusiasm.<sup>20</sup>

In February, 1872, Hayden wrote an article for *Scribner's* which was published under the title "The Wonders of the West—More About the Yellowstone." In closing he asked, "Why will not Congress at once pass a law setting it apart as a great public park for all time to come, as has been done with that not more remarkable wonder, the Yosemite Valley?"<sup>21</sup> By this time a bill had been introduced in Congress and was awaiting the action of that body. During this same month Dr. Hayden published another article in the *American Journal of Science and Arts* in which he stated:

A bill has been introduced into Congress which has for its purpose the setting apart this wonderland as a great National Park for all time.

. . . The speedy passage of this bill, which will prevent squatters from taking possession of the springs and destroying the beautiful decorations, will also meet with the cordial approval of all classes. We hope that before this article is published to the world the Act will have become law.<sup>22</sup>

A pamphlet copy of this article found in the Library of Congress is inscribed "To Hon. J. A. Garfield with compliments of F. V. Hayden." J. A. Garfield was Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations and Hayden was attempting to enlist his support of the Yellowstone Park bill and increased appropriations to the United States Geological Survey.

<sup>16</sup> Langford, *Discovery of Yellowstone Park*, 44.

<sup>17</sup> Langford to Hedges, November 24, 1905. Original in Montana State Historical Society Library, Helena.

<sup>18</sup> Cornelius Hedges, "Yellowstone Lake," *Helena Herald*, November 9, 1870.

<sup>19</sup> *Helena Herald*, November 18, 1870; *Washington Star*, January 19, 1871; *New York Times*, January 21, 1871; *New York Herald*, January 23, 1871.

<sup>20</sup> Olin D. Wheeler, *Sketches of Wonderland* (Saint Paul, 1895), 32.

<sup>21</sup> *Scribner's Monthly* (New York, III, February, 1872), p. 396. The Yosemite Valley had been transferred to the state of California, and although it was made a reserve, it was not completely under the control of the federal government. Not until 1890 did Yosemite become a national park in the true meaning of the term.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted by Louis C. Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, 1932), 24.





The frontiersman pictured here by L. A. Huffman was undoubtedly one of the first white men to be photographed—or for that matter to see—Soda Butte and Soda Springs in the Yellowstone Wonderland. On opposite page, N. P. Langford, the first Superintendent, as pictured by W. H. Jackson.

Although a small group of Helena, Montana, citizens under the leadership of Langford and Hedges were working for the creation of Yellowstone Park at the time of the governmental exploration of 1871, there were a few, who, when they heard of the wonders of the region, felt that there could be no harm in making a settlement within the proposed park. If the park were not created, they would have squatter's rights to the ground and the opportunity to amass profits. So soon as the Washburn-Doane expedition had returned in the fall of 1870, two printers from Deer Lodge went to the Firehole River basin and cut a large number of poles. Their plan was to return during the following summer and fence in a tract of land containing the principal geysers.<sup>23</sup>

In 1871, Mathew McGuirk entered the region from the north, ascended the Gardiner River, and staked a claim near what is now called Boiling River. This stream of water, a runoff from Mammoth Hot Springs, is quite warm and possesses properties that were thought at the time to be of great medicinal value. To take advantage of this, McGuirk established a crude log bathhouse and cottage near Boiling River and filed his claim under the Homestead Act in August, 1871.<sup>24</sup> When F. V. Hayden passed this region during his summer exploration he was surprised to find many invalids gathered about the spring, each of whom spoke of the remarkable curative ef-

fect of the waters.<sup>25</sup> J. C. McCartney and his partner Henry Horr came into the Yellowstone area during this same year and located their claim at the foot of Mammoth Hot Springs, or, as it was called at that time, White Mountain.<sup>26</sup> These men built several cabins which visitors said were located on "a beautiful site which possesses many advantages."<sup>27</sup>

The *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette* of July 24, 1871, printed a long article entitled "The Mineral Springs of the Yellowstone—Wonderful Health Restoring Qualities." The account attested the popularity of this region and contained a report of it written by a small group consisting of "Robert H. Lemon, of Helena, H. R. Hoor,<sup>28</sup> and William Carr, of Fort Ellis, and other citizens and several soldiers."

C. J. Baronette had constructed a toll bridge just above the junction of the Yellowstone and the Lamar Rivers during the early months of the summer and this was

<sup>23</sup> William H. Clagett, Congressional Delegate from Montana Territory, to William R. Marshall, Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, July 9, 1894. Quoted by Langford, *Discovery of Yellowstone Park*, 38-40.

<sup>24</sup> Newell F. Joyner, "History of Improvements in Yellowstone National Park," MS. in Yellowstone Park Library, Mammoth Springs, Wyoming.

<sup>25</sup> Hayden, *Preliminary Report*, 106-107.

<sup>26</sup> Joyner, "History of Improvements in Yellowstone Park," *loc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, July 24, 1871.

<sup>28</sup> H. R. Hoor was probably the same individual mentioned in the above paragraph as Henry Horr.

<sup>29</sup> Joyner, "History of Improvements in Yellowstone Park," *loc. cit.*

used chiefly by the miners working east of the proposed park region. Most of the essential mining tools purchased in the Montana settlements and the ore secured from mining activities passed across the bridge.<sup>29</sup> It was also used by the Hayden and Barlow exploring expeditions of 1871.

While opportunists were attempting to exploit the newly explored Yellowstone region during the summer of 1871, the citizens of the Montana Territory became greatly agitated by a bitter political contest to select a delegate to Congress. In August, 1871, William H. Clagett, a Republican, was chosen. His predecessor, James Cavanaugh, was defeated for the Democratic nomination by E. W. Toole after a serious party controversy and the bitterness of this party struggle extended into the election. The final result was the election of a Republican in a territory normally Democratic.<sup>30</sup> In the campaign Clagett had traveled over Montana Territory and had made many speeches. Walter Trumbull, who had been a member of the Washburn-Doane expedition of 1870 and who was indirectly committed to the national park idea, traveled with him and reported his speeches to the *Helena Herald*, the leading Republican newspaper of the territory. The editors of the *Herald* had manifested a great interest in all matters pertaining to the upper Yellowstone region and had devoted many columns to descriptions and news concerning its exploration. Clagett told of the various things he would do for the territory, but made no mention of his interest in the creation of a national park.<sup>31</sup> If such a statement had been made, the *Herald*, committed to the national park movement, would probably have printed it.

Although Clagett did not manifest any interest during the campaign in the movement to create a national park, after the election he conferred with Langford and Hedges in Helena concerning the proposal. Langford and Hedges were ardent Republicans and it was agreed by the three men that "every effort should be made to establish the Park as soon as possible, and before any person had got a serious foothold."<sup>32</sup>



In the fall and early winter of 1871, the newspapers of Montana Territory published articles carefully describing the most direct routes of travel to the natural phenomena of the Yellowstone region,<sup>33</sup> and many individuals visited it not only to observe its physical features but to consider the possibility of homesteading in the area. In December, 1871, the *Helena Daily Herald* printed some "interesting extracts from the Advance Sheets of Prof. A. F. Thrasher's forthcoming Book on the Yellowstone Country—the Wonders of the Fire Hole Basin—the Marvels of the Great Mound System, etc., etc."<sup>34</sup>

By the winter of 1871-72 the upper Yellowstone region had become so endangered by the possibility of commercialization that N. P. Langford, Cornelius Hedges, and Samuel Hauser, Helena bank president and member of the 1870 expedition, realized that the national park idea had to be drafted into a legislative bill and quickly introduced into Congress if the region was to be preserved. As a result, Montana Territory was well represented in Washington during the winter of 1871-72. Langford, Hauser, and Everts, another explorer

<sup>29</sup> Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana* (San Francisco, 1890), 676.

<sup>30</sup> Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone Park*, 30-31.

<sup>31</sup> Langford, *Discovery of Yellowstone Park*, 40.

<sup>32</sup> "Route to the Geysers, Yellowstone Falls, Lake, etc.," *Helena Daily Herald*, December 7, 1871; see also "The Madison Canyon," *Deer Lodge New North West*, October 14, 1871.

<sup>33</sup> December 20, 1871.



Two other great early photographs of the wonderful thermal features of Yellowstone Park, forerunners of millions of later-day postcards, are these Huffmans. Left is the cone of Giant Geyser and right, famed Castle Geyser.

of 1870, were in Washington most of the time and Walter Trumbull was clerk of the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which his father was chairman. Professor Hayden was working with the Geological Survey in the Interior Department. Clagett stated later that Langford came to Washington in December, 1871, and as he remained there for some time the two men held frequent discussions on the park project.<sup>35</sup>

The Yellowstone Park bill was introduced simultaneously into the House of Representatives and the Senate on December 18, 1871. In the House the bill known as H. R. 764 was introduced by Delegate Clagett; in the Senate Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas, chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, introduced an identical bill known as S. 392. The bill as introduced was not the work of any one man; like most major legislation, several individuals had made a definite contribution toward its preparation. As soon as Langford arrived in Washington he talked with Representative Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and with Senator Pomeroy, as well as with Delegate Clagett.<sup>36</sup> All of these men were interested in the proposed legislation and it was agreed that Clagett should sponsor the bill in the House and Pomeroy in the Senate. F. V. Hayden, who had just returned from his exploration of the upper Yellowstone, was asked to furnish the description of the boundaries of the proposed park so that such a specification could be incorporated into the bill. Langford was selected to consult Hayden

and to obtain the description of the boundaries from him.<sup>37</sup> Although the manuscript of the Yellowstone Park bill introduced in the House of Representatives was in the handwriting of Clagett, this fact does not prove that the original draft of the measure was by him or that Hayden did not furnish the description of the park boundaries.

Clagett had not been in Washington more than two or three months before Congress met on December 4, 1871, and therefore his influence could not have been very great. The Yellowstone Park bill was a remarkably well-drawn piece of legislation particularly when one realizes that it was pioneering in a new field. All of the facts indicate that some more experienced legislator was advising Langford, Clagett, and Hayden in the actual preparation of the park measure. Congress had previously reserved public lands for various purposes, but never "as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." The bill as drafted further emphasized "the preservation from injury or spoliation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities or wonders within said park and for retention in their natural condition." It also prohibited the "wanton destruction of fish and game." The wording of the draft of the bill does not appear to be that of a novice who had been in Washington only a few months and who had served in Congress for only two weeks. Almost four months after the introduction of the Yellowstone Park bill, Clagett admitted his complete lack of experience during these first months of the



session when he wrote to Samuel Hauser in Helena: "I am just beginning to catch the knack of getting things done here. Had I known how to go at things at the beginning of the session, I would be further along with my business, but I hope to do a good deal yet."<sup>38</sup> In all probability the influential member of Congress who was assisting the Montana men in introducing the proposed legislation was Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts. In the winter of 1870-71 Dawes, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House, had made possible the increased appropriation for the Hayden Geological Survey of which his son was a member; he was in close touch with the results of that exploration and was actively interested in the creation of the park. While he may not have actually written out the bill, he undoubtedly wrote the outline for the draft and gave Clagett technical information concerning the proposed legislation.<sup>39</sup> A number of Senate speeches of later years testify to the important contribution which Dawes made in drafting the bill.<sup>40</sup>

Langford had told Clagett that Pomeroy wanted the honor of introducing the bill in the Senate. According to Clagett, he himself made a copy of the bill, and after

introducing it into the House of Representatives "went over to the Senate Chamber and handed the copy to Senator Pomeroy, who immediately introduced it in the Senate."<sup>41</sup> The proceedings as reported in the *Congressional Globe* do not conform to Clagett's recollection concerning his relationship with Senator Pomeroy. The introduction of bills came early in the Senate's schedule of business on December 18, 1871, and Senator Pomeroy was the first

<sup>38</sup> Langford, *Discovery of Yellowstone Park*, 40.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

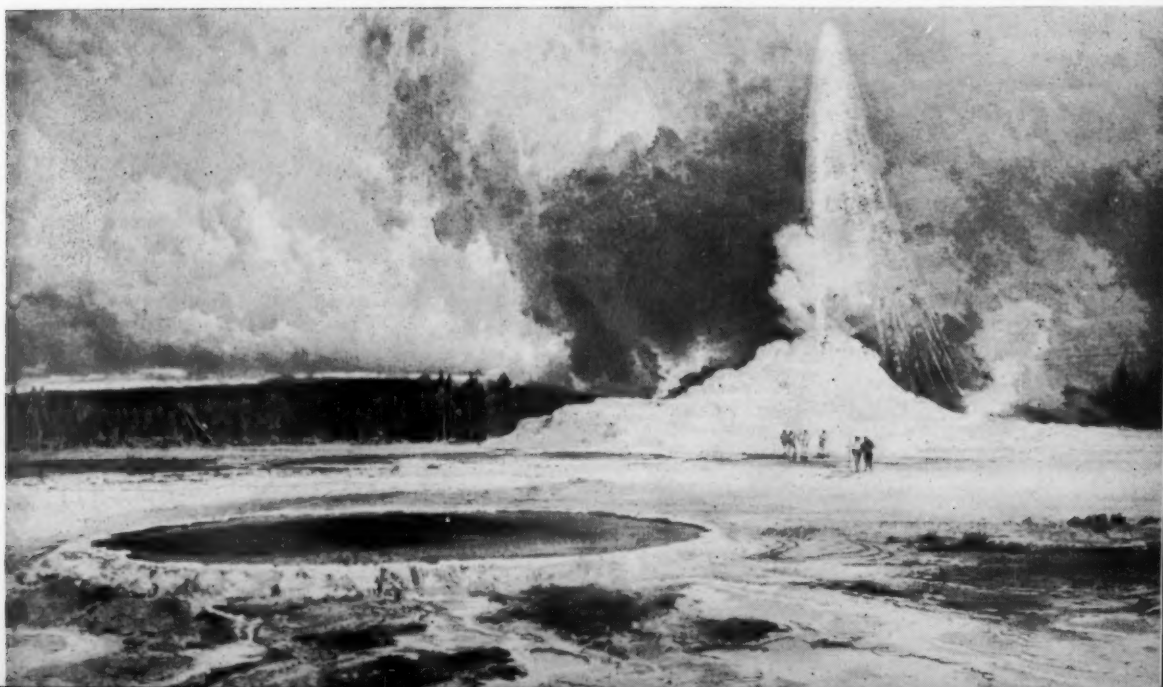
<sup>41</sup> Clagett to Hauser, April 13, 1872. Original in Hauser Papers, Montana State Historical Society Library, Helena.

<sup>42</sup> For a definitive evaluation of the contribution of various individuals to the creation of the Park, see Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone Park*, passim.

<sup>43</sup> While discussing conditions in the Yellowstone region in a Senate speech of February 17, 1883, George G. Vest said that Dawes "was the father of this park . . . for he drew the law of designation." *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong. 2 Sess., 1882-83, Part 3, p. 2836. On August 2, 1886, Senator Dawes said, "I spent some time in the Yellowstone Park and have taken a great deal of interest in it; indeed I think I drew the bill that originally set it apart." *Ibid.*, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., 1885-86, Part 8, 7843. And again, on May 10, 1892, Dawes said, "I have taken an interest in this park from the day of its creation. I had the honor to write the bill which created it, and I defended it . . . when the outcry against . . . it was loud." *Ibid.*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., 1891-92, Part 5, 4121.

<sup>44</sup> William H. Clagett to William R. Marshall, July 9, 1894. Quoted by Langford, *Discovery of Yellowstone Park*, 38-41.

Following the Hayden Survey, L. Prang & Co., Boston, in 1876 published a beautifully done, large format picture book on the now widely heralded Wonderland. Exquisite pastel colored lithographs of the work of Thomas Moran were augmented by vivid captions and text written by Dr. Hayden. This memorable scene of Castle Geyser is reproduced from a rare first edition owned by W. H. Bertche, Jr., of Great Falls, Mont.





to introduce a bill, that providing for the creation of Yellowstone National Park. Many bills were introduced into the House of Representatives on that same day before Clagett had an opportunity to present his bill, and it is evident that he could not have introduced his bill first and then gone over and given a copy to Senator Pomeroy in time for Pomeroy to take action in the Senate as early as he did.<sup>42</sup> It has been impossible to locate the manuscript copy of the bill introduced by Pomeroy because at that time Senate bills were not filed numerically and the system of indexing bills was most uncertain.<sup>43</sup> When the manuscript is found, if Clagett's recollection is correct, it will be in his handwriting.

While the bill was being considered in Congress, N. P. Langford and F. V. Hayden worked incessantly for its passage. Langford interviewed many of the members of Congress,<sup>44</sup> and four hundred copies of his articles in *Scribner's* were bought and placed upon their desks.<sup>45</sup> Clagett recognized the importance of Langford's assistance and stated that together they "did two-thirds, if not three-fourths of all the work" connected with the bill's passage.<sup>46</sup> Many citizens of the

Although a native of Michigan, Supt. Norris speedily turned "native" frontiersman during his useful career as Yellowstone's second administrator.

Montana Territory were interested in Langford's activity, and the *New North West* of Deer Lodge recognized his efforts in connection with the park legislation.

The editor reported that he was in receipt of a letter from Hon. N. P. Langford, dated Springfield, Mass. Jan. 12th, enclosing an article from the *Philadelphia Press*, giving rather more credit to Mr. L. for his participation in the movement to create a National Park at the head of the Yellowstone than he thinks that he deserves. Langford says, "Mr. Clagett drew the bill, after ascertaining the boundaries from Prof. Hayden and myself, and he should have the credit for the movement."<sup>47</sup>

Hayden also interviewed many of the members of Congress and exhibited the photographs, maps, and natural specimens which he had acquired on his 1871 expedition. Because of his connection with the Department of Interior his influence among the members of Congress was unusually great. Hayden's contribution to the enactment of the Yellowstone Park measure was invaluable, and it is to be regretted that he later so overestimated his work in this matter that he brought a great deal of criticism upon himself.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone Park*, 29.

<sup>43</sup> Samuel B. Pettengill to the author, April 4, 1938. Pettengill, nephew of William H. Clagett, was a member of the House of Representatives from Indiana, 1931-38.

<sup>44</sup> Langford, *Discovery of Yellowstone Park*, 41.

<sup>45</sup> Chittenden, *Yellowstone National Park*, 94.

<sup>46</sup> Langford, *Discovery of Yellowstone Park*, 44.

<sup>47</sup> *Deer Lodge New North West*, January 27, 1872.

<sup>48</sup> Hayden wrote a "brief statement of the history of the National Park" which he forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, on February 21, 1878, and in which he said, "I beg permission to state here, that, so far as I know, I originated the idea of the park, prepared the maps, designating the boundaries, and in connection with the Hon. W. H. Clagett [s'c], then Delegate from Montana Territory, wrote the law as it now stands . . . It is now acknowledged all over the civilized world that the existence of the National Park, by law, is due solely to my exertions during the sessions of 1871 and 1872." (Italics mine.) *House Executive Documents*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 1877-78, XVII, no. 75, p. 3. Hayden repeated in his annual report of 1883, "So far as is now known, the idea of setting apart a large tract about the sources of the Yellowstone River as a national park, originated with the writer." (Italics mine.) Ferdinand V. Hayden, *Twelfth Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories* (2 vols., Washington, 1883), II, xvii.

The importance of the introduction of the Yellowstone Park bill was noticed immediately by newspaper correspondents. The *Virginia City Montanian* reprinted an account which the Washington correspondent of the *Ohio State Journal* had written for his newspaper, and in which he had said:

General Clagett, Delegate from Montana, introduced a most important bill yesterday, having for its object the setting aside by the Government of lands surrounding the head-waters of the Yellowstone and comprehending the valley of that name, as a National Park, to be kept as such, free from any private claims, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. . . .

General Clagett by thus constituting this country a public park, proposes to keep the vast hords [sic] of speculators, always on the lookout for such chances, from preferring and maintaining private claims, and turning what should be free to all into a museum where a fee must be paid to behold the wonders. . . .

The land being worthless for any other purpose, ought certainly to be left free for all, it would seem, and be reserved as General Clagett proposes.<sup>49</sup>

The speed with which the Yellowstone Park bill proceeded from its introduction on December 18, 1871, to its enactment into law on March 1, 1872, is surprising. After consent was given to Senator Pomeroy to introduce the proposed legislation, the bill was read twice by title and referred to the Committee on Public Lands of which he was chairman. When Clagett introduced an identical bill in the House of Representatives on the same day, he requested that the bill be referred to the Committee on Territories, but Representative Job E. Stevenson of Ohio moved that the bill be referred to the Committee on Public Lands and his motion was carried.<sup>50</sup>

The Senate bill received more prompt committee action. On January 22, 1872, Senator Pomeroy stated:

<sup>49</sup> *Virginia City Montanian*, January 18, 1872.

<sup>50</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 1871-72, Part I, pp. 159, 199.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 484.



Huffman must have taken a long breath as he captured the strong, mineralized hot springs at Hell's Half Acre flowing into the Firehole River.

I am instructed by the Committee on Public Lands to report back and recommend the passage of the bill (S. No. 392) to set apart a certain tract of land lying near the headwaters of the Yellowstone river as a public park. It will be remembered that an appropriation was made last year of about ten thousand dollars [in reality it was \$40,000] to explore that country. Professor Hayden and party have been there, and this bill is drawn on the recommendation of that gentleman to consecrate for public uses this country for a public park.

. . . I would like to have the bill acted on now.<sup>51</sup>

Since there was objection to interfering with the regular order of business in the Senate, Pomeroy withdrew his report but presented it again on the following morning, January 23. The Chief Clerk read the bill to the Senate that day and stated certain word changes which had been recommended by the Committee on Public Lands. Senator Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania remarked, "I should like to know from somebody having charge of the bill, in the first place, how many miles square are to be set apart, or how many acres, for this purpose, and what is the necessity for the park belonging to the United States." Senator Pomeroy answered Cameron's inquiry only to be further interrupted by Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, who asked, "How many square miles are there in it?" Before Pomeroy could reiterate his statement, Senator Cameron interposed, "That is several times larger than the District of Columbia."



Pomeroy closed the brief discussion by replying that there were no arable lands in the region and that claims established to secure control of the hot springs or minerals had not been recognized in the bill. "The only object of the bill," he said, "is to take early possession of . . . [the region] by the United States and set it apart, so that it cannot be included in any claim or occupied by any settlers."<sup>52</sup>

The unanimous consent of the Senate was necessary before S. 392 could be considered at this juncture, and its consideration was closed for the day when Senator Allen G. Thurman of Ohio said, "I object to the consideration of this bill in the morning hour. I am willing to take it up when we can attend to it, but not now."<sup>53</sup>

On January 30, 1872, the legislation came before the Senate for consideration in its regular position on the calendar of business. Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont announced, "I have taken some pains to make myself acquainted with the history of this most interesting region. . . . I hope the bill will pass unanimously." The only opposition to the legislation came from Senator Cornelius Cole of California. This is surprising, as he represented the state which had accepted the Yosemite grant from the federal government. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, Cole exercised considerable influence in Congress, and his stand on the bill was a serious matter to proponents of the plan. Cole insisted that he could find no "sound reason" for passing the bill. "The natural curiosities there cannot be interfered with by anything that man can do," he said. "The geysers will remain, no matter where the ownership of the land may be, and I do not know why settlers should be excluded from a tract of land forty miles square. . . ."<sup>54</sup>

Cole's opposition was nullified, however, when Lyman Trumbull, the powerful Illinois senator whose son had been a member of the 1870 Yellowstone expedition, rose to discuss the measure and said:

I think our experience with the wonderful natural curiosity, if I may so call it, in the Senator's own State, should admonish us of the propriety of passing

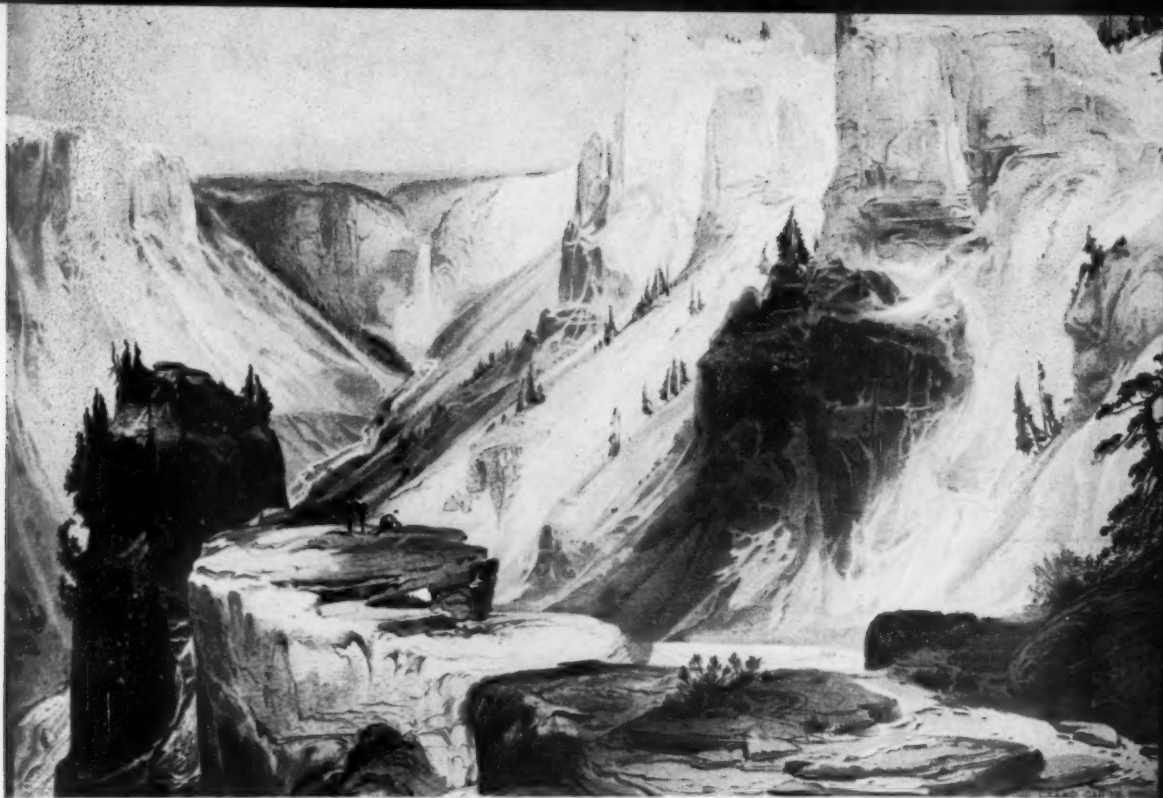
such a bill as this. . . . Here is a region of country away up in the Rocky mountains, where there are the most wonderful geysers on the face of the earth. . . . It is possible that some person may go there and plant himself right across the only path that leads to these wonders, and charge every man that passes along . . . the gorges of these mountains a fee of a dollar or five dollars. . . .

I think it is a very proper bill to pass, and now is the time to enact it. . . . Now, before there is any dispute as to this wonderful country, I hope we shall except it from the general disposition of the public lands, and reserve it to the Government.<sup>55</sup>

At the close of Senator Trumbull's speech on January 30, 1872, S. 392 was passed by the Senate without a call for the ayes and noes on the measure.<sup>56</sup>

During the latter part of January and the first days of February the House Committee on Public Lands was considering the Yellowstone Park bill which Clagett had introduced. On January 27 Representative Mark H. Dunnell of Minnesota wrote the Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, requesting some information concerning the upper Yellowstone region. Dunnell mentioned in his letter that as chairman of the subcommittee considering the bill he would "be pleased to receive a report made by Professor Hayden or such report as he may be able to give us on the subject."<sup>57</sup> F. V. Hayden prepared a statement of some five pages which was transmitted to Dunnell by the Secretary of the Interior on January 29, 1872.<sup>58</sup> Hayden strongly recommended the passage of the Yellowstone Park bill. The House committee authorized a favorable report, and Representative Dunnell used Hayden's statement as the committee report.<sup>59</sup>

The House of Representatives began consideration of the Senate bill creating Yellowstone Park on February 27, 1872, when the regular business on the Speaker's table was considered. Representative G. W. Scofield of Pennsylvania, a member of the Committee on Public Lands, attempted to delay the measure by moving that the bill be referred back to the Public



The greatest oil painting ever done of Yellowstone is the massive canvas of Yellowstone Canyon and Falls now owned by the Gilcrease Foundation at Tulsa, Okla. This is Moran's 1874 chromo. Of it, Hayden wrote: "One of the remarkable canyons in the World . . . even art must despair in attempting to reproduce the gorgeous tints displayed on its walls."

Lands Committee; but Representative Henry L. Dawes asked that the bill be considered immediately because of its merit. As a member of the Committee on Territories, John Taffe of Nebraska moved that the bill be referred to that committee. Scofield withdrew his motion at the request of Dawes and no further action was taken upon the Taffe motion. Dunnell then presented the favorable report of the House Public Lands Committee, and remarked that after a careful investigation of the question, he was convinced that the bill should pass.<sup>60</sup>

At the request of Representative Gustavus Finkelnburg, H. R. 764 was read and Representative Dawes explained its purpose:

This bill follows the analogy of the bill passed by Congress six or eight years ago, setting apart the Yosemite valley and the "big tree country" for the public park, with this difference: that that bill granted to the State of California the jurisdiction over that land beyond the control of the United

States. This bill reserves the control over the land, and preserves the control over it to the United States . . . the title to it will still remain in the United States, different from the case of the Yosemite valley, where it now requires the coordinate legislative action of Congress and the State of California to interfere with the title. This bill treads upon no rights of the settler . . . and it receives the urgent and ardent support of the Legislature of that Territory,<sup>61</sup> and of the Delegate himself. . . .<sup>62</sup>

Although there was no speech made in the House of Representatives directly in

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 520.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 697.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Dunnell to Delano, January 27, 1872. Original in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>66</sup> Delano to Dunnell, January 29, 1872. Original in the National Archives.

<sup>67</sup> *House Reports*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 1871-72, I, No. 26.

<sup>68</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 1871-72, Part 2, p. 1243.

opposition to the Yellowstone Park bill, some opposition developed when the vote was taken. On the division there were 81 ayes and 41 noes, and Representative George W. Morgan of Ohio, minority leader of the House, demanded a record of the vote. Upon the roll call there were 115 Representatives favoring the bill, 65 opposed and 60 not voting.<sup>63</sup> Morgan's opposition to the measure was probably based upon his personal dislike for Delano and upon his responsibilities as the minority party leader in the House.<sup>64</sup>

On February 28, 1872, the day following the passage of the Yellowstone Park bill in the House of Representatives, the *Helena Herald* printed an inspired editorial under the heading, "Our National Park." After announcing that Congress had approved the bill, the editor noted the great importance of the enactment to Montana. It would be "the means of centering upon Montana the attentions of thousands" of people previously unaware of the great resources and scenic wonders of the territory, he said.

The Yellowstone bill was signed by President Grant and became a law on March 1, 1872. This legislation inaugurated a unique experiment and was a marked innovation in the traditional policy of governments, for never before had such a vast region been set aside for the benefit of the people.

<sup>63</sup> In February, 1872, the legislature of the Territory of Montana adopted a memorial to the Congress of the United States relating to the proposed national park in the Upper Yellowstone. The measure, introduced by Councilman Seth Bullock and known as Council Joint Memorial No. 5, requested the creation of a national park in the upper Yellowstone and the cession of that region to the Montana Territory from the Wyoming Territory. The justification of this last request was based upon the topography of the region and upon prior exploration from Montana. Apparently the Montana legislature did not realize that the type of park provided for in the bill would be controlled by the federal government. The entire text of the memorial was printed in the *Helena Herald*, February 15, 1872.

<sup>64</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 1871-72, Part 2, p. 1243.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1244.

<sup>66</sup> Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone Park*, 26. The enmity between Columbus Delano and George W. Morgan began in March, 1867, over a disputed election in which both men ran for Congress. Morgan was received by Congress. Delano contested his election and won the contest. He replaced Morgan in June, 1868.

<sup>67</sup> March 6, 1872.

Although the great majority of the citizens of Montana Territory favored the creation of Yellowstone National Park, and several of the outstanding newspapers in the territory, led by the *Helena Herald*, promoted its creation, sentiment in Montana was not unanimously in favor of the new park. The *Herald* was a Republican newspaper. William H. Clagett, the sponsor of the bill to create the park, was a Republican Congressional delegate, and the *Herald* was quick to praise his work. Moreover, it was a Republican Congress that passed the legislation which was advocated by a Republican Secretary of the Interior.

Soon after the park was established the *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, edited by an ardent Democrat, published an editorial which said in part:

In our opinion the effect of the measure will be to keep this country in wilderness and shut out for many years the travel that would seek that curious region if good roads were opened up through it and hotels built therein. We regard the passage of the Act as a great blow struck at the prosperity of the towns of Bozeman and Virginia City which might normally look for considerable travel to this section if it were thrown open to a curious but comfort loving public.<sup>65</sup>

The *Herald* editors wrote a bitter denunciation of the *Gazette's* criticism of the Congressional action creating Yellowstone Park, and the biting sarcasm of the attack was proof that political rivalries in the territory were deep-rooted. The *Herald* pointed out that its Democratic rival had "studiously refrained" from reflecting popular approval of the plan to create Yellowstone Park and accused the *Gazette* of awaiting "somewhat impatiently the expected announcement that the National Park bill had been defeated." With apparent self satisfaction the *Herald* surmised "the consternation of our contemporary" upon noting the announcement of the bill's approval by Congress. "It would so please the *Gazette* to have its interests consulted and the public's set aside. Seriously, this cavorting of the Democratic





Steamboat Point on the shore of Yellowstone Lake as viewed from Lake Butte. This and the majority of photographs illustrating this section have been furnished by Supt. Lemuel A. Garrison of Yellowstone National Park. We are indebted to Wm. Bertsche for the Thomas Moran Cromo reproductions and to Mark H. Brown for all photos by L. A. Huffman.

organ is one of the little tricks which it feels called upon at this time to perform before its partisan adherents."

A few days later the *Herald*, still defending the Congressional action, printed the report which the Committee on Public Lands had made to the House of Representatives at the time the Yellowstone bill was being considered. The editor observed that the report of this committee was "in striking contrast to the narrow minded views set forth in the editorial columns of the *Gazette* a few days since, wherein that purely partisan sheet deprecated the act by which Congress proposed to set aside and make this region a world-famed park."<sup>66</sup>

During the month of March, 1872, the Deer Lodge *New North West*, another Republican paper, joined the *Herald* in approving the creation of the park. An article entitled "The Park Again" was printed on March 9, and a week later the *New North West* reprinted a New York *Herald* editorial which asked, "Why should we go to Switzerland to see mountains, or to Iceland to see geysers? . . . the country of the Yellowstone with its beauty . . . splendor . . . extraordinary and sometimes terrible manifestations of nature form [sic] a series of attractions possessed by no other nation."<sup>67</sup>

By the end of March, the newspaper controversy concerning the creation of the

park was closed, and it was generally conceded that the policy adopted by Congress was a wise one. The *New North West* on March 30, 1872, published an article taken from the Bozeman *Avant Courier*, a Democratic newspaper which showed that even party lines were not strong enough to keep Montanans from praising the work of Clagett and his associates who had introduced the bill to create the first national park in the United States. Perhaps the *Avant Courier* expressed the view of the majority of Montanans concerning the attitude of the editor of the *Rocky Mountain Gazette* when it closed the article by stating, "It is as natural for some people to growl as it is for a dog to do so."<sup>68</sup>

With the adoption of a law creating a national park at the headwaters of the Yellowstone River, the scene of Yellowstone history shifted for the most part from Montana and Wyoming to Washington. Such a transfer marked the close of the first era in Yellowstone Park history.

#### [THE END]

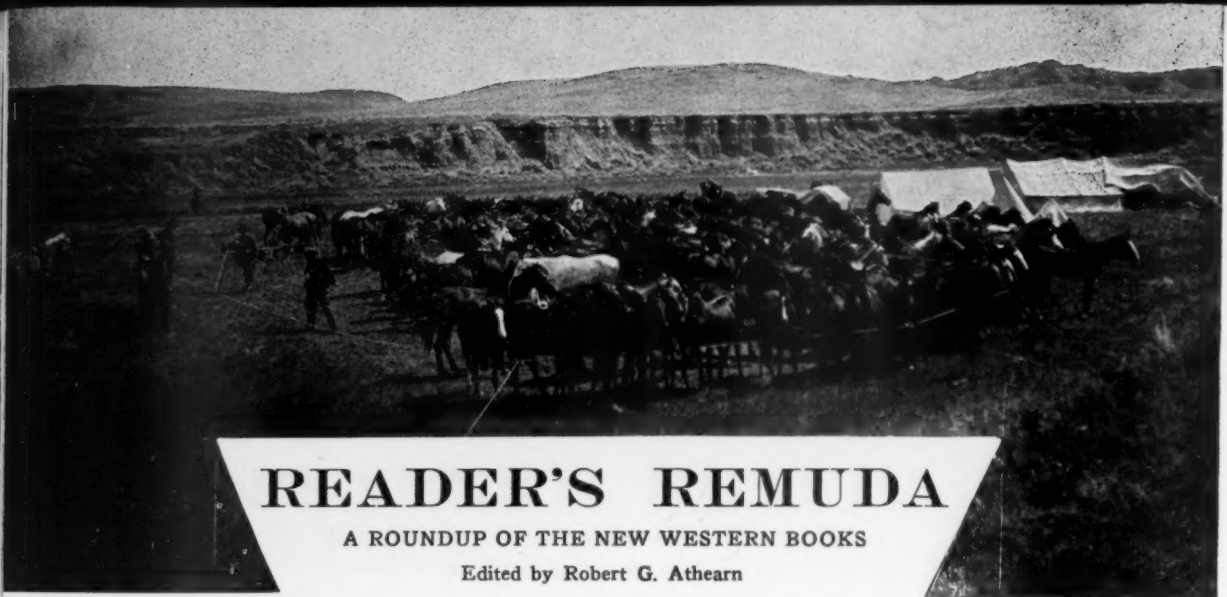
<sup>66</sup> *Helena Herald*, March 7, 28, 1872.

<sup>67</sup> *Deer Lodge New North West*, March 16, 1872.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, March 30, 1872.

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## READER'S REMUDA

A ROUNDUP OF THE NEW WESTERN BOOKS

Edited by Robert G. Athearn

**MEN TO MATCH MY MOUNTAINS: THE OPENING OF THE FAR WEST, 1840-1900**, by Irving Stone. Doubleday and Company, New York, 1956. 450 pp. \$5.95.

*Reviewed by Paul F. Sharp  
University of Wisconsin*

England's great historian, George M. Trevelyan, once observed that in the realm of history, "the moment we have reason to think that we are being given fiction instead of fact, be the fiction ever so brilliant, our interest collapses like a pricked balloon." Perhaps this is the reason my interest flagged after the first few chapters of this book. Certainly it was not because the book lacks excitement, color, or romance. Nor could it be put down to poor writing, for Irving Stone possesses every skill of the professional writer.

*Men to Match My Mountains* condenses in highly readable fashion many of the heroic and colorful events of western history. This compression is achieved through vignettes and character sketches that relate, though seldom explain, the course of events in the histories of California, Utah, Nevada and Colorado during the nineteenth century.

Complete emphasis upon the dramatic, the exotic, and the pathological distorts the focus so that few events are presented in their true perspective. Yet greatness and mediocrity, cowardice and courage, generosity and ruthlessness are here. Mr. Stone has indeed found "Men with em-

pires in their purpose, and new eras in their brains."

This book will capture the imaginations of those who enjoy good stories, told by a master craftsman. Montanans may regret that the giants, whether heroes or scoundrels, who matched their Shining Mountains are not part of this story. Despite its title, this is not the history of the opening of the Far West.

\* \* \*

**ARIZONA: THE LAST FRONTIER.** By Joseph Miller, with drawings by Ross Santee. Hastings House, New York. \$5.50. 350 pages.

*Reviewed by Edward H. Peplow, Jr.*

This book is replete with details, personalities, local color and authentic background information of the booming, bawdy days of Arizona's raucous youth.

The author, well known as an authority on Arizoniana, has searched the files of early Arizona newspapers for reports of such events as the death of Morgan Earp, the killing of Frank Stilwell, the Bisbee massacre, the Riverside hold-up, and the attempted shooting of Editor Whitmore by Col. Charles D. Poston, "The Father of Arizona."

From the same sources he has drawn contemporary accounts of such subjects as early matrimony in Arizona, the Earp-Clanton feud, Tombstone's early days, the Lost Dutchman Mine, bear fights and Navajo sweat baths.

For the Arizonaphile—and, be it strongly urged, for the aspiring writer of alleged Western fiction—this book should be a delight. The material is not presented as history. It is not history, for the reporting of many of these early editors was anything but factually accurate.

However, those same editors did reflect accurately the spirit and the thinking of the West of yesteryear. In their reports as culled and strung together here by Joseph Miller are bits and snatches of the genuine feeling of the era during which the Territory of Arizona fought her badmen and founded her future.

For instance, from the Florence Enterprise's account of the Riverside hold-up, Miller quotes: "Public sentiment was running high, unanimously in favor of hanging the robbers, and it was decided that as soon as it was positively known who the guilty ones were, they should be taken out, given a fair trial before a citizens' committee, and then promptly executed . . ."

Miller makes a minimum of comment throughout the book, letting the frontier journalists do the story telling. But what comment could he make on such a statement as the above?

The book is worth the price for anyone interested in the undiluted flavor of the Arizona of vigilante committees, gambling, gun fights, dance halls, boom towns and badmen.

\* \* \*

THE OLD WEST SPEAKS, by Howard R. Driggs. Prentice-Hall Inc., New York. 1956. 220 pp.

Reviewed by Andrew F. Rolle,  
Occidental College

This is Howard Driggs' twentieth book about the West. Written by an octogenarian with a lifelong interest in its early history, the volume is mainly a recapitulation of those symbols that most persons associate with the western scene and about which we have all read many times before. The publishers describe the book as "humanized history . . . a fresh approach to the pioneer past, vividly recreating the eternal youth, the boundless energy, the vast imagination and enter-

prise of the turbulent American West." All the earmarks of the West's folklore are in this book: Indians, trappers, cowboys, soldiers, and gold miners walk through its pages just as they have in countless movies and other works of this general type.

The son of Mormon parents, Driggs' original stamping ground was eastern Utah and western Wyoming, near the magnificent Jackson Hole and Grand Teton country. The charm of the book lies in the connection, however tenuous, between its author and various early pioneers who settled this region. While Driggs is no phony westerner this book, alas, taxes one's credulity on occasion. It possesses many of the faults of reminiscences remembered through the fatal mists of time. Its author is frequently tempted to reproduce conversations which seem to rest upon dubious grounds. He often accepts uncritically legends and stories that promise good reading. Such shortcomings make this book not really a history but, rather, a personal interpretation of the West.

The volume, however, repeats many of the historical episodes of western expansion usually found in more standard histories. Driggs includes stories about John Colter, Zebulon M. Pike, Fathers Escalante and Dominguez, Jim Bridger, Jed Smith, Joe Meek, Davy Crockett, Johann Augustus Sutter, and Brigham Young. These are only a few of the characters who crop up in Driggs' historical grab-bag. One would welcome some indication of the sources from which many biographical anecdotes have been taken. A footnote or two, so often shunned by popularists, would have helped to clarify such provenience for the more than casually inquisitive reader.

In some cases Driggs tracked down his own stories, looking up early stagecoach drivers, pony express riders, and other frontier characters wherever he could find them. In other instances the book rests upon his own recollections. Driggs has a facile pen and demonstrates considerable skill in putting together his admixture of legend, reminiscence, and historical narrative.



The volume is pleasantly illustrated with clear black and white photographs and reproductions in color of certain paintings by the renowned western artist, William Henry Jackson. Despite the aforementioned defects of generalization such a book will continue to be appreciated by the many new western fans who come of age each year. \* \* \*

THE GHOST TOWNS OF WYOMING, by

Mary Lou Pence and Lola M. Homsher.

Hastings House (New York, 1956). \$7.50.

Reviewed by Muriel Sibell Wolle,

University of Colorado.

Wyoming's ghost towns are of many types and the authors have carefully grouped them according to location and kind. Some were mining settlements, some were cow towns, others were tie camps. Several, like Benton, were railroad camps which, within months, were torn down and moved westward with the laying of the rails. The record of these places is also the story of the state, "a segment of the great American desert which was brought to blossom by the shifting from frontier individualism to modern industrialism. And all of it almost within a single generation." The many vanished towns are graphically described from their beginnings to their desertion or eradication. "Hell", the prospectors would say, 'any place near a mine is a good place for a saloon'. And that meant a new town."

"In the mountains and valleys . . . the little mushroom growths built solidly. Log cabins, sod sandwiched between the logs, clapboards haphazardly nailed, shanties made of snitched ties, carelessly mortised together, burgeoned promiscuously." But in spite of similarities of construction, each is given individuality by the vivid descriptions of the "common people who inhabited them" and by the many incidents and anecdotes that provide human interest. There is the account of the murderer who was hanged to the end of a box car. "That night the surprised train crew cut down the gruesome corpse." An excerpt from an old letter reads: "we took our guns along when we went to milk the cows."

Pioneer life was rugged. Indian threats and bloody skirmishes harrassed the set-

tlers and often retarded the development or permanence of a camp, even after the "singing wires" were strung across the prairie. Indian incidents are part of nearly every settlement's history. After the gold camps played out the Indians were corralled on reservations, Wyoming became the grazing ground for great cattle herds and, when sheep entered the picture, the towns were torn by cattle wars. The discovery of coal in various portions of the state caused a dozen or more camps to boom until the veins pinched out. Even some of the first oil camps have already disappeared.

Read about South Pass City, where Esther Morris gave a tea party which resulted in legislation that provided votes for women, or about Bessemer, where a "homesteader was about as welcome as a rattlesnake in a bed roll." Visit Battle, where miners and herders feuded; Cambria, the company coal town whose buildings no longer line the "vein-scarred, time-stripped" gulch; Jireh, where college professors homesteaded and brought culture to sixty-five students; Bonanza, where the first oil was discovered near Thermopolis. All these and many more are now only windswept ruins.

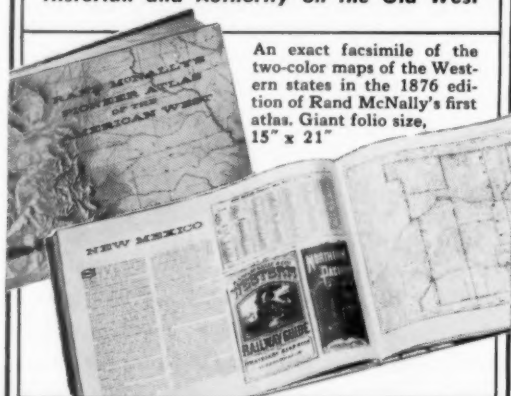
The text of the book is as colorful as the illustrations. Take Benton, described as a 'hard looker': "Its arrival was heralded by the screeching of the swindlers, the cursing of the gamblers and the bawdy laughing of the fancy women as they claimed squatter's right at End-o'-Tracks. There was no grass. There were no trees. There was no water. But there was always whiskey. A few months later, "board by board, keg by keg, Benton was wheeled away."

Through this book, Wyoming's ghost towns stir again. They invite the curious to once again search them out, to inspect the "deserted homes, scarred creek banks, water-soaked pits, neglected burial plots and historical markers (which) imply that once this land was home for thousands who are now all gone away." It is exciting arm chair exploration and for many an invitation to actually see part of the old west that soon will be completely gone.

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**THE BADLANDS BEYOND**, by Norman A. Fox. Dodd, Mead and Company. 211 pages. \$2.75.

*Reviewed by Dabney Otis Collins,  
Denver*

Deep in all of us lies a badlands, and for each his badlands is a particular thing. Don't we all ride into these badlands sometimes? Most of us come back, but a man could go in so far he'd never find his way back. . . . So well-educated Clem Latcher, a failure in marriage as in everything he had attempted, warned Jess Loudon.

To former buffalo hunter Jess Loudon when he became a rider for Long 9, he had taken the first step toward being a man of Peter Frome's caliber. Frome, largest rancher in eastern Montana Territory, who talked of the need of a school, who might become the state's first governor, was the symbol of Loudon's ambition.

This gripping, well-told story is of that period in Montana's history when cattlemen were forced to rid their ranges of rustlers by becoming their own hangmen. Leader of the badlands rustlers is Jack Ives, whose mistress, Addie, is Clem Latcher's Jezebel wife. Frome is leader of the ranchers.

Norman Fox, who knows every part of his Montana, draws a subtle parallel between the almost unnoticeable beginnings of the badlands and the gradual disintegration of the character of Peter Frome, who rode in too far. The parallel applies equally to Loudon, Ives, Addie, and to every other character in the book.

There is an overabundance of profanity and colloquialisms. Western dialog, though sparse, need not be banal. Frome's mad escape from Loudon—who was unarmed, barely able to walk—is unconvincing. Despite his guilt complex, his ostracism, Frome was on his way to arrange for a big loan with St. Louis bankers for expansion of his ranching activities. Loudon had been shot without his knowledge. Though he had reason to fear Loudon, because of Clem Latcher's death, it is doubted that this fear would have panicked Frome into jumping headfirst into the river.

WITH CROOK AT THE ROSEBUD, by J. W. Vaughn. The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pa., 1956. 245 pp. \$5.00.

Reviewed by Merrill J. Mattes,  
National Park Service, Omaha, Neb.

The disastrous encounter of the U. S. Army with Sioux and Cheyenne Indians at the Little Big Horn, on June 25-26, 1876, has been the theme of innumerable articles, monographs, theses, books, and heated debates. So much historical hindsight, in fact, has been focused on the "Custer Massacre" that historians have all but lost sight of another closely related battle between these forces, fought just thirty miles away eight days earlier. This was the Battle of the Rosebud.

Crazy Horse's brilliant leadership of the savage tribes, threatened by the three-pronged advance of Crook, Gibbon, and Terry, is the solid core of the reputation which has led to his unique enshrinement as the last great Red hero. He sent Crook's formidable column reeling back, out of commission; this set up the impetuous, vainglorious Custer like a sitting duck, and ensured the failure of the Army's grand plan for a quick conquest of the Sioux.

Vaughn has ransacked all of the several eyewitness accounts of the Rosebud affair, analyzed the principal characters, interviewed survivors and the descendants of survivors, and gone over the battlefield itself, inch by inch, with a mine detector. The result is a quite impressive detailed "play-by-play" reconstruction of the battle, prologue and epilogue. With Vaughn's magnifying class, the Rosebud has been brought back into historical focus.

As frontier battles go, the Rosebud was a whopper, extending over a 4 mile line. Approximately 1,500 hostiles opposed Crook's force of 1,300, including Shoshone and Crow allies, packers and a delegation of Montana miners. The white casualties were severe, on the order of 30 killed and 60 wounded. The conduct of soldiers and officers in action was exemplary; no one claims that the generalship displayed by Crook was brilliant. If anyone else could have outwitted, outmaneuvered, and out-fought Crazy Horse, that fact will remain

forever hidden. At least Crook, unlike Custer, managed to extricate himself from the hornets' nest with the bulk of his command intact and breathing.

The trout fishing at Goose Creek (present Sheridan, Wyoming), where Crook retired to recuperate, was excellent. But the zest was gone after news got to the camp that Crazy Horse and his cohorts had wiped out Custer and around 260 troopers. The fiasco of the Little Big Horn was brewed at the Rosebud, not only by the elimination of Crook but by the stepped-up vindictive fighting mood of the warriors. It was their hour of glory. Ironically, they managed also to glorify the psychoneurotic "fair-haired boy general," making him into the legendary folk-hero that he always wanted to be.

Beside the stolid unimaginative Crook himself, there were several interesting personalities among the officers of Crook's command, who are given good vignette treatment by the author: Col. Royall; Maj. Chambers; Capts. Mills, Nickerson, Henry, Sutorius, Vroom; Lts. Bourke, Foster, and Schwatka; Scouts Big Bat and Frank Guard; and Correspondents Finerty and Strahorn. But the man who stands head and shoulders above all others in this affair is Crazy Horse, an alleged "rare old tintype" of whom, "never before published," appears opposite page 132.

A few minor points in the book are debatable. It is definitely untrue that Crook's daughter married the Confederate cavalry leader, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart. According to the editor of *Crook's Autobiography*, Crook had no children. But this is quibbling. Vaughn's book on the Battle of the Rosebud is fairly exhaustive and convincing.

#### A NEW RUSSELL PRINT

Lovers and collectors of Charles M. Russell art will be delighted to learn that the painting, "When the Land was God's," considered by the authority, Fred G. Renner to be among the artist's three greatest paintings, has finally been reproduced.

Large, 21 by 27 inch unmatted four-color lithographic prints may be purchased through the Historical Society of Montana, only. The price for this fine new reproduction in the first edition prints is only \$7.50 with shipping prepaid.

A small format, 7 by 9 inch print, also in colors, is available. Because of the packing and shipping costs involved, these are being sold in sets of five at \$3 the set, shipping prepaid. Both prints are wonderful gift items.





# DIRECTOR'S *Roundup* K. ROSS TOOLE

A book entitled *Anaconda* by Isaac Marcossan was recently released by Dodd, Mead and Company. It is what you would call an "authorized" history. It had the advantage in Montana of glowing reviews on the front pages of several of the Anaconda Company's dailies. This is a book we hope to review in detail in this magazine in due course.

In the meantime this brings up the tricky question of authorized history. Is it history at all? Is it always history with a slant? Prejudice would seem to have been introduced quite clearly the moment an author accepts a fee from a special enterprise. If a company merely opens its files to a reputable historian and makes it very clear that no strings are attached, that is one thing. To authorize a "history" in any other sense is a dubious process.

The Anaconda Company has done business in Montana since the early 80's. It has been tremendously important in the State's economy and in its politics for seventy years. Yet no adequate historical and/or economic story of the Company appears in any of the State's various histories; nor does any separate work cover the subject.

It is not too much to say that no real sense can be made of the overall history of the State of Montana without detailed consideration of the role the Company has played. Since politics is so often the outgrowth of fundamental economic factors, it is all the more important that Anaconda be treated carefully, objectively and in proper context.

While Mr. Marcossan's book will be reviewed in detail in the next issue of this magazine it is not too early to say that it is not in any legitimate sense a history of the Anaconda Company. It is laudatory in the extreme; there are entirely too many factual errors, and, more compelling, the

book simply leaves out great chunks of significant history. It presents myth as fact and glosses over very important developments. However, it does more than that, it distorts many things it does consider in some detail.

Now this is a shame because, being the only thing on the subject, the book will probably enjoy a wide sale. It will, until something better is done, grace library shelves all over the country and it will be absorbed by laymen and students as fact. Discerning people and scholars will recognize it at once for what it is. In fact, many have already done so. It is still a pity to bill as history what patently isn't.

One can understand the Anaconda Company's sensitivity about its background to a certain extent. The Company has long been a whipping boy both for liberals and pseudo-liberals. It has been made an ogre when it wasn't and has been blamed for things it didn't do. On the other hand it has not always been a paragon of political virtue nor have its chief executive officers always been the gentle, kind, wondrous sort of Jack Armstrongs that Mr. Marcossan makes them.

In many respects the history of the Company is a wonderful story. It is a real pity to take all the guts and toughness out of it with a totally uncritical account. Surely the Company is big enough, well established enough and wealthy enough to be able to take critical facts in its stride. It seems to have suffered for a long time from the misapprehension that it can put blinders on Montana's population, first with its newspapers and now with this "history." It is really rather silly because no thoughtful person is much confused by it; no one wants to run the Company out of the State (except the shades of F. Augustus Heinze) and most everyone is willing to give the Company credit where credit is due.

No one even passingly familiar with the Company's history during the period 1900 to 1915 can accept Mr. Marcossan's version of lily-white Amalgamated vs. archfiend Heinze. That section of the book is downright ludicrous. Certainly Heinze was an opportunistic thief; Amalgamated (which controlled Anaconda from 1900 to 1915) was as ruthless an outfit as ever appeared on the American industrial scene.

Mr. Marcossan's bibliography illustrates that he used *none* of the basic source material—or if he read it, he neither listed it nor quoted from it. This most extraordinary "history" paints only one side of the picture and does even that with such cloying worship that it mitigates what little other merit the book has.

This is not really Mr. Marcossan's fault; it is the Company's. He, after all, makes his living as a writer (not, incidentally, as a historian, quite obviously) and he accepted an assignment. But it is ardently to be hoped that in the not too distant future the Anaconda Company brings its public relations up into the twentieth century as it long since has all its other activities.

To criticize the Company in print is a somewhat tricky business because it always seems to hurt the feelings of at least a portion of the fine people who work for and run the organization. The critic is very apt to be considered "leftish" or "unsound" or "liberal" (using the word in its bad sense). But, after all, the Company has gone into print with this "history," its papers have sung the books praises and it is strictly within the purview of *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* (and for me) to say, bunk! Read this book if you will, but don't call it history.

\* \* \*

#### A NEW WESTERN COLLECTION at *The Findlay Galleries*

Though vigorous and colorful in many ways, the Middle West in the '60's was hardly fertile ground for the beginning of an art gallery. Yet with a dream of what the "Heart of America" would some day represent, William W. Findlay pioneered from Cincinnati in the '60's and in 1870 opened the first Findlay Galleries in Kan-

sas City, Missouri. There were many lean years when Mr. Findlay questioned if his dream would ever be fulfilled. But along with the struggle to stimulate interest in the arts in this crossroad town between the East and the far West, there were also rich rewards. Probably the greatest was the "discovery" of Frederic Remington.

Mr. Walstein C. Findlay, the son who had been Remington's companion and who later became the second head of the Findlay Galleries, often spoke of that experience.

Undoubtedly his friendship with Remington during these early days was the foundation for Walstein Findlay's later keen interest in fine paintings of the West. Charles Russell, George Catlin, H. W. Hansen, Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran were always of special interest to him. Many examples of these painters were featured at his galleries and brought to the attention of interested collectors.

As Kansas City grew, so grew the Galleries. Specializing primarily in paintings and fine prints, its influence in the development of private and public collections became ever more strongly felt.

In 1932 the Galleries expanded to Chicago, though retaining those in the city of birth. In 1935 further expansion included the opening of a gallery in New York.

In the Findlay Building on beautiful Michigan Avenue, third-generation Walstein Findlay Jr. has established the William Wadsworth Memorial Collection of Western Bronzes and Paintings. He plans this collection as a permanent tribute to his grandfather's rich contribution to the development of Art in the Middle West. Featured in this collection is a superb group of bronzes, paintings and water colors by both Charles Russell and Frederic Remington. The Charles Russell group includes the brilliant paintings "Single Handed," (see page 10), "Before the Buffalo Hunt," "Him" and "Her" and the choice bronzes of Jim Bridger and Charles Russell on his own pony known as "The Night Herder" or "Horse Wrangler," together with numerous water colors and other paintings and bronzes by Russell. The Remington collection features not only paintings and water colors but also the world's largest collection of Remington's bronzes.



## FIRST COME, FIRST SERVED

- Recently the Historical Society of Montana offered, privately, a limited edition, C. M. Russell Art Portfolio in attractive, large 11x14 inch format.
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